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A DIALOGUE BETWEEN  
*REGINALD POLE & THOMAS LUPSET*





A D I A L O G U E  
*Between*  
*REGINALD POLE &*  
*THOMAS LUPSET*

*By*  
Thomas Starkey

*Edited by*  
KATHLEEN M. BURTON

*With a Preface by*  
F. M. W. TILLYARD,  
LITT.D.

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## PREFACE

MISS BURTON'S edition of Starkey's *Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset* will make available to a wider public a work of high interest, which for several reasons should be better known.

Many people have some idea of the circle of Sir Thomas More and are attracted generally by the moderate reformers who in this way or that were overwhelmed by the violence of the Reformation. Starkey did not go the way of More; he followed the drift of reform: but he was temperate and he shared the spirit of sweetness and light spread in England by More's friend Erasmus. Apart from More's *Utopia* no work of the moderate English reformers is known to the general public. Simply as representing that disposition, Starkey's *Dialogue* deserves to be known.

But it also has high merits in itself.

First, it is a delightful blend of medievalism and of the new classicism, recalling contemporary French architecture or such an example as Bishop West's chapel in Ely Cathedral, where classical detail is applied to Gothic forms. Starkey's whole scheme, the correspondence between the body politic and man's microcosm, is a medieval commonplace. His talk on natural and civil law goes back, if to any one place, to Thomas Aquinas. His solicitude for the salvation of the good pagans was shared by many medieval thinkers. And—a matter which makes him the more interesting—his dislike of despotism is closer to medieval than to Tudor notions of kingship. But many of his sentiments illustrate that heightened sense of human values which marked the age. He often speaks of things being "convenient to the nature and dignity of man." Like Milton, he cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, and thinks that houses of religion are for the weak rather than for the strong. Like the Greeks, he makes health and wealth two things necessary for the good of the individual and the community. He is modern, and at one with the contemporary reformers, whether Catholic or not, in wanting marriage for the secular clergy and an English Bible and liturgy. Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch are among his authorities, and he recommends the writings of Erasmus for use in ecclesiastical education. And throughout the dialogue is a vivid sense of how man

has it in his power to improve himself. God alone, it is true, can give virtue, but man may help the process incalculably by educating himself to receive it. Thus Starkey's *Dialogue* is pre-eminent as a mirror of contemporary ideas, and as a document in the history of English thought.

Secondly, the *Dialogue*, like More's *Utopia*, is of much interest to the social and economic historian. Starkey insists on first principles: there is not the least hint of any Machiavellian doubt concerning a fixed and divinely ordained moral order; as for Hooker, there is a Law transcending all laws. But he has a lively sense of what were thought to be the present ills of England—the dearth of population, the excess of serving men, the waste lands calling for cultivation, the barbarous rusticity of some of the gentlefolk—and he wants them to be remedied. Here is a document conveying directly something of what it felt like to be alive in the early 1530's.

Thirdly, the *Dialogue* is a work of art, in this respect better than its more famous contemporary, Elyot's *Book of the Governor*. Though in parts too long drawn out (for instance, in speaking of dearth of population), it is finely controlled and well constructed. The author knows exactly what he has to say and carries his work through without scamping and without hesitation. And he ends as strongly as he begins. The *Dialogue* is thus a highly civilised affair. In dramatic power it falls short of *Utopia*. The setting in Pole's house at Bisham in Berkshire is nominal and cannot be compared with More's description of Archbishop Morton's house with the fool and the friar, or with some of Cavendish's accounts of the acts of Wolsey. But Starkey commands a prose style that can describe actual conditions vividly and can rise to a considerable height of moral earnestness. Early Tudor prose is one of the least explored and most underprized areas of English literature. R. W. Chambers in his *Continuity of English Prose* did admirable work in advertising certain portions of it. But he was prejudiced against any admixture of rhetoric, except when it occurred in the works of More, and did not do full justice to the whole period. Starkey is not free from the contemporary habit of "augmentation" or picturesque duplication, a habit hallowed by the Prayer Book ("to acknowledge and confess our manifold sins and wickedness"), but usually condemned elsewhere. Sometimes, it must be admitted, he does "augment" without pleasing, as when he talks of "rough and asper mountains." But the Prayer Book should demonstrate that one should judge not by prejudice but

by the actual event; and, in fact, many of Starkey's augmentations add dignity and improve the rhythm. But the great thing about Starkey's prose is that he can vary it. He can be pompous and ornate, and he can be extremely simple. He is in the true English tradition in being able to combine homely Saxon with sonorous Latinisms and by the contrast to heighten the power of both elements. Starkey is not a genius like More; but, like Elyot, he is a fine writer of the second order. His *Dialogue* is not inferior in interest and literary merit to the *Book of the Governor* and deserves a permanent place among the lesser classics of the English tongue.

Miss Burton is well versed in the history of English prose style and is eminently qualified to edit Starkey's *Dialogue* for the use of the general reader.

E. M. W. TILLYARD



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# INTRODUCTION

## I. THE COMPOSITION OF THE *DIALOGUE*

**T**HOMAS STARKEY, chaplain to Henry VIII, composed his *Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset* and presented it to the king between 1533 and 1536,<sup>1</sup> while the Church in England was being broken away from Rome. The subject of the dialogue is the reformation of the state of England. It is not, like More's *Utopia*, an account of life in one kind of ideal state—the kind governed by natural reason; it is a direct discussion of what is wrong with England and how it can be reformed. The discussion takes place between Reginald Pole, a cousin of the king, and Thomas Lupset, formerly Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford—both scholars of European reputation.

Lupset begins by deciding on the best kind of life for the individual; from that basis, Pole develops his idea of the ideal commonwealth. This commonwealth is then used as a standard against which Pole and Lupset point out the defects of present-day England—economic, political, “customary” and spiritual. They then agree that it would be both advisable and pleasant for this state of affairs to be altered, and put forward methods of reform to meet each individual defect. Starkey wanted *ad hoc* reforms, not a New Jerusalem; he was no visionary, and his work is partly a codification of contemporary protests against abuses, partly an attempt to give England the benefit of classical teaching in matters of law and government.

The *Dialogue* is a valuable document for those interested in the background of life and thought in the early Tudor period, as Starkey is enough at one with popular opinion to be representative of it when voicing protests. But Starkey was not merely a mouthpiece for public grievances; he was an intelligent and cultured humanist whose principles are still valuable today. He believed in the dignity of man, whose aim should be to attain his own kind of perfection, which “resteth in the mind, and in the chief and purest part thereof, which is reason and intelligence. . . . This is the mark that every man, prudent and politic, ought to shoot at: first to make himself perfitt, with

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A for a discussion of the date of the *Dialogue*.

all virtues garnishing his mind, and then to commune the same perfection to other." <sup>1</sup>

Starkey was, in fact, the kind of reformer who, while realising that a certain standard of material comfort in life does make it easier for a man to live virtuously and generously, would never advertise his golden age as a time when every family had a motor-car and a refrigerator. He believed that man's duties and services were at least as important as his rights: the self-made man would have no place in his community, because work must be done not for individual advantage but for the good of the commonwealth. He disapproved of an entire retreat from the community almost as much as he disapproved of living at the expense of the community; cloistered virtue seemed to him a confession of weakness, for he had the humanist's conviction that education and law were an adequate defence against the temptations of the world.

As a political thinker he was sufficiently behind his contemporaries to want a limited monarchy at a time when they were thinking only of the value of a strong government which could unite discordant elements and defend England against foreign interference. His views on legal penalties were in advance of the opinion of his time; he thought they should be instruments of reform, not of obliteration. He planned carefully for the welfare of the ignorant and the poor. But he was not a fanatical believer in the efficacy of any one remedy; he realised that the world could not be put to rights merely by material or political reorganisation. He had a sense that no reform would be effective, no law achieve its purpose, unless there was also a God-given change of heart in men themselves.

The *Dialogue* reads like the work of a man of sense and culture. It is composed in an unselfconscious style, and throughout the debate one feels Starkey's sincerity as a reformer. He is certainly more concerned with what he has to say than with the way he says it. This does not mean that his style is flat: his images are often forceful, the structure of his sentences staccato and telling. One remembers his abuse of lawyers—"cormorants of the court"—of "idle abbey-lubbers"—of priests who "patter up their matins"; and also the hopes he had of a properly educated nobility: "This youth, as stars, should light in all parts of the ream hereafter, and they should put in effect that thing which these solitary men dream of in their corners." <sup>2</sup> But one also wishes he would

<sup>1</sup> *Dialogue*, pp. 23 and 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Dialogue*, p. 171.

remember that what I tell you three times is true. His prose may not be as pithy or as dramatic as that of pamphleteers like Crowley and Brinklow, but it has the dignity of the solid and of the sane.

The *Dialogue* was composed because Starkey felt that a wise man was morally bound to communicate his wisdom. His own wisdom had probably been increased during his temporary retreat into the Charterhouse in 1531 and his later period of study in Venice and Padua, where he received a doctor's degree in civil law. If the ruling principle of his thought is forgotten, it is easy to agree with some critics who maintain that Starkey's praise of Henry VIII as a monarch who was concerned only for the welfare of his people shows Starkey's insincerity as a reformer; in their opinion, Starkey was only anxious to curry favour with the king.<sup>1</sup> It is at least equally possible to maintain that Starkey's motives were not sycophantic; he may have been obviously tactful in his comments on the king, but rather to ensure the success of the *Dialogue* and its reforms than to angle for his own advancement.

## II. THE FORM OF THE *DIALOGUE*

Starkey had both precedent and good reason for setting out his reforms in the shape of a dialogue. Plato was the classical example, and recently both Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* (1516) and Castiglione in his *Il Cortegiano* (1527), among many others, had made use of the device. At its best, the dialogue form can make an author's conclusions irresistible; the reader feels, with Crito, "No, Socrates, I have nothing more I can say." Starkey does not use the ruthless technique of Socrates which forces his pupil on, rejecting every false concept and argument, towards a truth stated in terms of cobblers, not of syllogisms. His interlocutors endure complicated expositions before advancing a counter-theory, and there is little use of one controlling mind to force the other, point by point, to agreement. But the dialogue form is of use in allowing Starkey to eliminate some of the possible objections to his theories, and it does provide a human setting for the discussion.

The choice of Pole and Lupset as interlocutors is understandable. Both of them, even as young men, had impressed Dutch and Italian scholars with their learning and their integrity. Thomas Lupset, born probably in 1495, a pupil of Colet of St. Paul's, was a responsible

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Martin Haile, *Life of Reginald Pole*, p. 135.

scholar who had been trusted by Erasmus with the MS. of his libellous *Julius Exclusus*, attacking the Pope. While studying in Paris he had helped to print More's *Utopia*. In Padua, where he went to study civil law, he became a member of Pole's household. He was famous for a series of lectures on the *Philippics* and for a defence of Erasmus' methods of editing the Gospels. He died in 1530; very little of his work has been published.

Reginald Pole, son of the Countess of Salisbury, was the last of the Yorkist line, and a potential threat to Henry's supremacy.<sup>1</sup> He had been patronised by the king, educated at his expense, and preferred to several rich benefices. After studying at Oxford (where he, like Starkey, was a member of Magdalen College), he spent much of his early life reading law and theology in Venice and Padua, winning the high respect of such scholars as Erasmus, Pietro Bembo,<sup>2</sup> and Jacopo Sadoletto.<sup>3</sup> In 1529 Pole was in Paris, with Starkey as his secretary, unwillingly sounding French scholars, on behalf of Henry VIII, on the legality of the king's marriage to Catherine. He returned to Italy in order not to be forced into open opposition to Henry's policy; but Henry was dissatisfied with his retreat, and in 1535 commissioned Starkey (then his chaplain) to discover Pole's real views on the questions of the supremacy of the Church in England, and the "divorcé." Until 1536, when Pole's reply arrived in the shape of his book, *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione*, he was still considered by Henry as a potential friend, and by Starkey as an eminent and suitable name under which he could give advice to the king.<sup>4</sup> The well-known friendship existing between Pole and Lupset was, of course, an addi-

<sup>1</sup> When it became obvious that Henry VIII and the Pope could not be reconciled, there was continental intrigue to make Reginald Pole head a rebellion against Henry VIII, who, having been excommunicated, ought not to reign. Pole was to assume his power as the rightful heir.

<sup>2</sup> Bembo was an Italian humanist remembered mainly for his extensive study of Cicero and abject devotion to Ciceronian style as the only model for modern Latin prose.

<sup>3</sup> Sadoletto was the Bishop of Carpentras in southern France, and a member of the Oratory of Divine Love. His chief concern was the reconciliation of the best of pagan teaching with the teaching of Christianity. Starkey thought very highly of his tract on education: *De Liberis Recte Instituendis*.

<sup>4</sup> Fierce as the controversy was in, say, 1534, it was still possible for men like More to hope some compromise could be found. In the *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, Chapter XII, he wrote: "In some communications had of late together, hath appeared good likelihood of some good agreement to grow together in one accord of our faith." Starkey had no reason as yet to think that Pole's difference of opinion with Henry would harden into dichotomy.

tional reason for Starkey's choice. Erasmus, writing to Pole in October 1525, commented on their relationship:

"How vehemently Lupset loves you his eloquence sufficiently declares—it is inspired by nothing else than an extraordinary feeling of friendship towards you, so strong that it will soon have forced me to love you too." <sup>1</sup>

But the *Dialogue* did not necessarily contain the real views of Pole and Lupset on the subjects which Starkey made them discuss. His dedicatory letter to Henry VIII showed clearly that the two speakers were a vehicle for Starkey's own views:

"So well noting the manners here used at home and comparing them with other used in strange nation, I have found great corruption with much abuse in law and policy, whereof by long observation I have geddered a certain commentary and compiled, as it were, a little book . . . this rude commentary, the which I have formed in a dialogue and a familiar communication had betwix two of your Grace's most true and faithful servants. . . ." <sup>2</sup>

It would therefore be unsafe to assume that what Pole, for example, is made to say in the *Dialogue* about the need for translating church services from Latin into English represents his real opinion; in fact, he disapproved of translation. In fact, too, he had blamed Sadoletto for the insufficiently religious emphasis of his tract on education; in the *Dialogue* he was made to recommend it without reserve. The real Pole was deeply attached to tradition; in the *Dialogue* he appeared as an almost rationalist reformer. However, much of the character implied by Starkey is true to what we know of Pole—for instance, his reluctance to leave the contemplative life, which is particularly endorsed by a letter from Edmond Harvel, a member of his household, in April 1535:

"You know how he delights more in study than life or glory, which always have been contemned by him. . . . It is true that the sweetness of learning is so great, that with difficulty a man greatly inflamed with virtue can be withdrawn from study." <sup>3</sup>

J. A. Gee in his *Life and Works of Thomas Lupset* has, however, listed "Lupset's" opinions in the *Dialogue* and found them at least not inconsistent with those expressed by Lupset himself.

<sup>1</sup> Poli, Epp. I, p. 394.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, 1535, Vol. VIII, No. 217; Record Office MS. used; but references are to Gairdner's cataloguing.

<sup>3</sup> Cottonian MS., Nero B. VII, 108.

### III. THE IDEAS OF THE *DIALOGUE*

Starkey's idea of the ideal life derives from Plato and is a reversal of the medieval theory that contemplation was more valuable than action. The contemplative life of mere devotion to learning and virtue for one's own benefit is selfish; the philosopher, having studied to attain perfect wisdom, must communicate it to the rest of the world by advising the government. He must work for the establishment of the ideal state: a quietness and civility in which all men can attain their natural perfection, living "to the profit of other" and "forming of other to their natural perfection." In such a state there must be health, which is attained when the numbers of people are adjusted to the extent and resources of the land; there must be strength, which is attained when the country is trained and equipped for self-defence, and backed by powerful foreign nations; and there must be beauty, which is attained when the division of function in the population is just (a due balance between ploughmen, merchants and knights), and when there is sufficient abundance for the production of non-essentials such as fine public buildings. Finally, there must be civil order, which implies that everyone is working for the good of the whole commonwealth.

Against this ideal Starkey painted a black picture of England. There was a dearth of population, and even the existing population was badly distributed and idle. Its classes did not work together but continually complained of each other. Luxury trades were flourishing, and too much money was going out of the country, while there was still much poverty. Rents were high, and goods dear in consequence. The enclosure system was causing much distress, even if it were necessary for the breeding of stock.

As the laws stood, the king could develop into a tyrant. The whole code of laws was in need of reform; there were gross injustices in common law as it applied to wards, to inheritance and to the punishment of criminals. The legal system was corrupt and processes were unending. The Church had too much power in civil affairs and extorted too much money. The Pope's dictatorship was intolerable. The priests were an example of immorality to the people. The Church was out of touch with the people because of the persistence of Latin as its official language. These are the main heads of a fairly detailed attack on the political, economic and religious state of England.

Contemporary and later tracts bore out most of Starkey's accusations of defects in the commonwealth. Brinklow's *Complaynt of Roderick Mors* (1542) lamented that the raising of rents had made all goods more expensive and more difficult to dispose of—"And thus every one eateth out another" (p. 12). Crowley's *Epigrams* (1550) asserted that idle beggars were the ruin of the country. Brinklow commented that suits were dragged on in the law courts or unnecessarily referred from one court to another; while perjury went unpunished.<sup>1</sup> Simon Fish, in *The Supplication of the Beggars* (1521) protested against the celibacy of the clergy; it resulted in highly paid immorality. Tyndale complained of the absurdity of keeping the Bible in Latin: "Came Christ to make the world more blind?"<sup>2</sup> and Brinklow stressed the inadequacy of Latin services: "How can we pray or worship God aright, when our hearts know not whether our mouth laudeth God for his benefits already received, or else that we demand any petition?"<sup>3</sup>

Various remedies were suggested, in which two ideas predominated. The first was that it was the king's duty to protect his people by removing abuses (for example, by the simple method of setting the rent of all his land at the level that held fifty years before, and compelling his nobles to do the same). The second was that, whatever happened, the people must not take matters into their own hands. The king must be endured even if he were a tyrant; God sent bad kings to punish countries for their sins.

"He would have told thee that to revenge wrongs is, in a subject, to take and usurp the office of a King and consequently the office of God. For the King is God's minister to revenge the wrongs done to the innocent."<sup>4</sup>

"For God hath made the king in every realm judge over all, and over him there is no judge. . . . If the king sin he must be referred to the judgement, wrath and vengeance of God."<sup>5</sup>

In fact, Starkey's scheme for reforming the commonwealth by means of a limited monarchy was in direct contrast to the theories which characterised his age. It was felt very strongly that the king was bound by natural and positive law, but not responsible to anyone but God for its fulfilment. He could be passively disobeyed but not actively

<sup>1</sup> Brinklow, *Complaynt*, ed. E.E.T.S., pp. 20-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Obedience of a Christian Man*, 1535, f. 12v.

<sup>3</sup> Crowley, *Way to Wealth*, 1550, E.E.T.S., p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Tyndale, *Obedience of a Christian Man*, f. 32r.

<sup>5</sup> *Complaynt*, p. 66.



resisted, even if he commanded what was contrary to natural law.<sup>1</sup> The half-heartedness of the Pilgrimage of Grace was sufficient evidence of the beliefs of most of the common people.

Starkey was not, in fact, in complete agreement with these principles and the necessary conclusion that one must accept what was sent by fate: "Quiet thyself therefore, and strive not against the stream. For thy sins have deserved this oppression."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, he differed from most of these pamphleteers in that, while they complained of scattered abuses and offered particular cures, he did attempt to see the pattern of the whole commonwealth and analyse the root causes of the defects. In consequence, although he did not present a political philosophy or an integrated system for social reform, his suggestions appear to be more than mere pious hopes.

He worked from clearly stated principles. One of the more important is the medieval concept of an innate conscience, implanted by natural law, by which all men could distinguish right from wrong. Their reason, if it controlled their passions, could therefore lead them to a life of true liberty. In consequence, improvement in civilisation was possible; in his origins man had lived in uncivil solitude in wild forests, but he had since then developed a kind of community life. But improvement was not automatic; man must be schooled to virtue by positive law, since "there be in man's life so many occasions of destroying these seeds and virtues, plants and laws."<sup>3</sup> Starkey believed in training men to face temptation in the world, and held that monasteries were only for weak and feeble souls who could not stand up to temptation.

Like all humanists, he was convinced of the overwhelming importance of education. He did not work out within the *Dialogue* a detailed scheme by which youth should be educated, because so many scholars had recently demonstrated the ideal education for a Christian prince (Erasmus' *Institutio Principis Christiani* and Elyot's *Governour* are perhaps the best examples of a wide contemporary treatment of the subject). He recommended instead Sadoletto's manual, *De Liberis Recte Instituendis*. Sadoletto described an entirely domestic education, which depended on the influence of the father to change externally applied discipline (which he compared with a statue of Apollo) into the living

<sup>1</sup> See, for a detailed exposition, F. Le Van Baumer: *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship*, Chaps. IV and V.

<sup>2</sup> Crowley, *Way to Wealth*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Dialogue*, p. 31.

self-discipline of virtue (which he compared with the living and breathing figure of the god himself)—a state in which the trained nature would be immediately revolted by vice. He put more emphasis on the training of character than on the training of the mind: the child must learn from an early age to love God, to control his feelings by reason, to prefer moderation in all things of this world. Respect for his family would at first keep him from evil; fear of ignominy and love of praise would incite him to learn. Above all, he must be led to love learning; once that attitude was established, his right education was ensured. Sadoletto made a survey of the subjects the boy ought to learn, with a panegyric on each: he did not need to study each exhaustively, but to such a point that when he wanted to return to the subject later in life he could do so without a guide. The climax of his education would be philosophy, which would keep his mind free and upright in every vicissitude of fortune. So equipped, and well read in civil law, he would be fit to guide his country at home or abroad, in peace or war.<sup>1</sup>

Starkey did not repeat what Sadoletto had said, but made further points of his own. He emphasised the importance of an all-round education—body must be trained as well as mind and soul. He sketched the plan of a system remarkably like that of the later English Public Schools, where the sons of noblemen could receive this education together. Starkey never thought the spiritual part of man the only one that mattered; man was created body and soul together, a creature that could not suffer too much of the celestial light. Virtue alone could not, in consequence, bring man to high felicity on earth; man's other needs must be met by economic and political provision. This seems a reasonable position from which to set out on a campaign of reform—a conviction that human improvement in body and soul was possible, combined with a realisation that no one remedy would meet all human needs.

Starkey also foreshadowed an educational theory developed by the Spaniard Juan Huarte later in the century in his *Examen de Ingenios*, sometimes thought to be the first Renaissance restatement of the idea. This was, that since men were created by God with different capacities and capabilities, they could not all profit by the same kind of education. Their education must be adjusted to suit each man's ability and aptitude; by no means every man was fit to become a priest. Starkey

<sup>1</sup> See the translation by E. T. Campagnac and K. Forbes, O.U.P.

also suggested a kind of vocational selection in which the square peg was shown what hole to go into, and not allowed to get out again; it was not a matter of advice but of direction.

The country's economy was far from perfect: Starkey thought this was because there were not enough people to work the land and because many of those people were idle. The decline in population could be remedied only by encouraging marriage and childbearing. Starkey's provisions were probably suggested by Roman law—the *Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea*—which did not permit the unmarried of marriageable age to inherit legacies, and allowed the childless married couple only half their legacy. Exceptionally prolific women were given the right to be exempt from male tutory: that is, they were free to manage their property in their own right. Starkey went much further: he proposed a direct tax on all bachelors for the benefit of large families and girls without dowries. Bachelors were not to hold any civic office, and had to will half their property to the poor. Fathers of more than five children were to be entirely exempt from taxation, unless they had more than a hundred marks in capital; and they were to be free of all war service. Furthermore, lords ought to see that their retainers had a house and some land on which they could maintain a family. Finally, priests ought to be allowed to marry. Starkey does not point out that these last two measures would result in an increase of population only if priests and retainers had previously been chaste.

Starkey advocated fairly rigid government control of labour. Officers were to superintend the choice of work, having regard to the man's aptitude and the country's needs. No one was to be allowed to switch from one trade to another. There was to be a system of State rewards for excellent work. Conservators of the Common Weal were to be appointed as inspectors of minor officials, whom they would have power to dismiss. A kind of sanitary inspector was to be responsible for the health and pleasant appearance of towns.

Money was to be prevented from leaving the country. If the clergy wanted to spend money on their favourite vices, it should be spent in this country and not sent to subsidise the luxury of Rome. Imports of luxury goods were to be restricted; but customs duties should be abolished, to encourage the import of necessities. English merchantmen were to have a monopoly of conveying goods to and from England. Manufacture within the country was to be encouraged: far too much raw material was exported and reimported when it had been made into

goods. Starkey, like most of his contemporaries, was working towards a state of economic autarchy.<sup>1</sup>

His ethics belong to the Middle Ages rather than to the Renaissance. The weak must be protected against the strong, and everyone encouraged to perform his duty in the class to which he belonged. Starkey felt that equity should be the prevailing principle in law. It did not seem to him that English common law was an adequate interpretation of divine or natural law, but he did not attempt to simplify its involutions and complexities; he proposed, instead, a reception of Roman (civil) law in England, and he wanted it expressed in a language less barbarous than Norman French.

The points of law where Starkey particularly desired reform were those of inheritance, guardianship and criminal law. He felt that the law of primogeniture was unfair in any but the families of nobles, where it was necessary to keep estates together to preserve a strong ruling class; in other families, he wanted all the children to share the patrimony. He cited the equal division of property under Roman law as his model.<sup>2</sup> Starkey also thought that the father should be able to disinherit his son on certain provocations.

Wards were to have some measure of protection against their guardians. Guardians ought to render an account of their management of their wards' estates, and should have less control over their private affairs. Justinian's code made more detailed provisions on this point: wards were entitled to an inventory of their estates as a check on the accounts rendered; and they could bring an action against their guardian for dereliction of duty, whether in administration of goods or education of the person.

Starkey admired the more lenient treatment of criminals under Roman law. Convicted thieves, for instance, were not necessarily hanged, as in England; if not caught in the act they had merely to pay a fine amounting to twice the value of the goods. The Roman punishment for treason did not reach beyond the death and ignominy of the actual offender, whereas in England his innocent family was deprived of all its goods. Starkey wanted to reform rather than eliminate

<sup>1</sup> He was not as sound an economist as the author of the *Discourse of the Common Weal* (c. 1549), most of whose treatise dealt with production, price controls, exports and imports, and the currency.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, Justinian's law merely provided that children could claim a third or a half of what they would legally have received if their father had died intestate.

criminals—and he thought that forced labour on public works would be a better deterrent than hanging to thieves.

Finally, he wanted reforms in court procedure. As it was, the rich benefited, while greedy lawyers let cases drag on until the poorer litigant was forced to give up his claims for want of money. The rich could also appeal for judgment in a higher court (usually in London), which their opponent could not afford. Starkey thought that appellations should be severely restricted, and that lawyers who deliberately prolonged processes should be made to pay the costs of both sides.

The introduction of Roman law would not have been entirely consistent with Starkey's plans for political reform, which are perhaps the most interesting part of his thesis. Although Roman law laid down the principle (with which Starkey was in complete agreement) <sup>1</sup> that sovereign power was derived from the people, it proceeded to argue that once the power had been handed over, the sovereign was absolute. "What the Emperor has been pleased to command has the force of law, since by the *lex regia* passed about his sovereignty the people has made over to him all its own sovereignty and power." <sup>2</sup> Starkey felt, on the contrary, that what the people had given they were free to take away. They should be able to elect the man they considered most suitable for the office, instead of taking in mere automatic succession kings who were not necessarily born fit to rule. (Of course, at the moment they were exceptionally blessed in having a king who, though not elected, was eminently fit to rule.) <sup>3</sup> As a natural corollary, unsuitable kings could be deprived of office.

"This is in man's power: to elect and choose him that is both wise and just, and him that is a tyrann so to depose." <sup>4</sup> Starkey did not believe that tyrants had to be endured as part of God's plan for chastising man's wickedness. He was, however, at one with most theorists of his age, <sup>5</sup> and in disagreement with Roman law, in denying that kings

<sup>1</sup> Starkey's official utterances do not bear this out. In the *Exhortation to Christian Unity* composed for Henry VIII, Starkey assumed the orthodox view that men were bound to obey the king because he owed his authority to divine and natural law. But his motive was a matter of politics rather than political theory.

<sup>2</sup> Justinian, *Institutes*, Bk. I, Title 2.

<sup>3</sup> Starkey did admit that the process of elections might lead to widespread civil strife, even if the king's privileges were so limited that only those with a sense of duty to their country would want to rule. The method of succession, though not ideal, was expedient for England at the moment.

<sup>4</sup> *Dialogue*, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> See Le Van Baumer, *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship*, pp. 128 and 172.

were above law; they were subject to both natural and positive law, and must rule in accordance with those laws.<sup>1</sup>

The worst state imaginable was that subjected to the whims of a tyrant. To prevent such behaviour on the part of the king, Starkey suggested the creation of a permanent council of fourteen to act as a little parliament when the great parliament was not in session: they were to see that the king ruled according to the law and did not trespass on the people's rights. They were also to provide the king with a band of ten counsellors to advise him and make decisions on all major matters of State.<sup>2</sup> Finally, Starkey was not bound by the normal feeling of his time—that government by a king was the only right method. He felt that a republican government might suit some countries better than a monarchy—a tolerance borne out by his feeling that other sects besides Christians might be saved if they lived by their own positive laws; provided, of course, that their laws harmonised with natural law.

Starkey's views on Church reform are of less interest, except in so far as he stressed the personal element, as he did in education. The selection of clergy was of paramount importance: they should be of exemplary character, capable of a high level of learning—and they must not be made priests before the age of thirty. The kind of priest desirable was that described in Erasmus' treatise *Ecclesiastes*: a priest modelled on Aaron, withdrawn from worldly affairs, pure in life, humble enough to learn even from children. Erasmus gave careful instructions for his upbringing, including the books he should read and the methods he should use when listening to sermons. The major part of the treatise was devoted to rhetorical training to enable him to preach good sermons.

The clergy were to be cut off from worldly pomp (a seasonable hope at the beginning of the dissolution of the monasteries) and their methods of government were to be more democratic: monks, for

<sup>1</sup> Assertions of the king's absolute sovereignty were made by early Tudor writers only when defending that sovereignty against foreign and papal interference. See Baumer, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> This was an extreme statement of the vague contemporary feeling that all matters of State were better handled through the medium of parliament; even the king found it useful to shift the responsibility for not obeying a papal summons on to parliament's refusal to grant him permission. Writers as disparate as St. German, the radical lawyer, and Bishop Gardiner, whose allegiance to Henry VIII's ideas was the condition of his continued existence, spoke of the laws as being the outcome of the common decision of the king and parliament. See Baumer, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-1.

instance, should hold office as abbot for a term of three years only. Their surplus wealth was to go to the poor, to education, and to building funds.

Starkey was also concerned for the understanding of the congregation. Service and Gospels should be translated into English. There seemed to him little point in the theory that knowledge of the law (man's life-line) would lead to disputes and forsaking of its principles. He did, however, warn priests that their interpretations must be orthodox, lest they should be reputed seditious persons: "they should follow and cleave unto the consent and laudable custom of the Church of England whereas it appeareth not in any part repugnant to the truth of God's word, nor yet prejudicial to the princely power, nor to any law established thereby."<sup>1</sup>

Starkey did of course mention the more common abuses of the Church: non-residence, privileged trials, rights over the probate of wills, and so on; but these are passed over speedily, and not very much more attention is devoted to the problems of Church government. He repeated the more usual commonplaces: the Pope had usurped God's authority in taking upon himself the dispensation of God's laws; what power he had to dispense man's laws was given to him only in conjunction with his college of Cardinals, and he was therefore not free to make decisions on his own. The power to dispense men's laws was given by men; the only special authority derived by Peter from Christ was that of absolution. But Starkey was curiously moderate in his refusal to jettison papal authority completely; he thought that matters of faith could still be referred to the Pope, that the Pope should continue to consecrate archbishops, and receive their first-fruits, and that the whole country should continue to pay Peter's Pence to the Pope. This is reactionary when compared with the Act of Appeals, 1533, which proclaimed England an "empire" with one Supreme Head, the king, and made persons appealing to Rome subject to the penalties of the Statute of Praemunire; all future spiritual appeals were to be made to the English clergy in convocation. The literary attack on the papacy had begun in earnest in 1533 with the pamphlets of Fox and Gardiner—a battery of combined argument and abuse—which laid down that the Pope had no claim to power over kings and emperors; his spiritual powers were merely sacramental, and he had the right only to preach and pray, not to rule. Starkey is very far from this radical view: nor

<sup>1</sup> *Of Preaching, Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. IX, 1160.

is there any trace in his writing of the tendency manifest in Gardiner's *Si Sedes Illa* (composed in 1535) to make a personal attack upon the Pope. He was conspicuously unfanatical in matters of church reform.

#### IV. INFLUENCES ON THE THOUGHT OF THE *DIALOGUE*

There has been a certain amount of discussion of the origins of Starkey's ideas. Friedrich Dannenburg made a study of the ideas he derived from Plato: the concept of the virtuous life, man's ability to learn what virtue is, the idea of the philosopher prince, and the system of fixed and unalterable classes and trades. But in the main he was forced to conclude that Plato "towered like a mighty shadow in the background of the *Dialogue*."<sup>1</sup> Aristotle obviously influenced Starkey's idea of the perfect state, which, like the perfect body, was maintained by the different functions of its different parts, and must have the same virtues as the body—health, strength and beauty. Ten Brink drew parallels between the *Dialogue* and More's *Utopia*, pointing out both authors' desire to mitigate the severity of penal law, their insistence on careful selection for the priesthood, and their wish for some kind of sumptuary law.

But the major influence on the *Dialogue* was clearly that of Marsiglio of Padua, as was demonstrated by Le Van Baumer.<sup>2</sup> Most of Starkey's political ideas were derived from Marsiglio's *Defensor Pacis*, which was published in Basle in 1522, though composed about a century before. Both Marsiglio and Starkey had an historical approach to political problems; both proposed realistic and practical solutions. Both believed the prince's authority came from the ordinance of men, and only by *causa remota* from God. Both preferred elective rulers, and thought these rulers must be subject to positive law because of the fallible nature of man. Both believed that rulers should have general councils assigned to them, without whose authority they could not act in any important matter; and both were ready in the last resort to depose a bad ruler. It must, however, be remembered that Marsiglio's arguments were applied to the Pope, whereas Starkey was referring to a temporal king.

<sup>1</sup> Dannenburg, *Das Erbe Platons in England bis zur Bildung Lybys*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 83 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Article in *Politica* for November 1936, *Thomas Starkey and Marsilius of Padua*.



## V. THE REALISATION OF STARKEY'S REFORMS

The principles of Starkey's political reforms were not accepted in England until the next century. People in England had not at that time realised the need for limiting the powers of the king as Starkey suggested. They were much more concerned with establishing a strong monarchy to control internal disorder and protect them from outside interference; and the sense that the king was subject to natural and positive law prevented them from feeling that they were entirely at the mercy of a being who had too much power. It was not until later kings wanted measures of which parliament could not approve that the idea of limiting the king's power came to the front of men's minds.

There is disagreement among historians as to the extent to which it was likely that England in the sixteenth century "would have a "reception" of Roman law, as many continental states were doing. Civil law did gain some hold on the prerogative courts, but in the courts of common law tradition was too strong. Lawyers had vested interests in the continuance of common law; and the educational system of the Inns of Court was very firmly established. Moreover, common law as it affected the ownership and leasing of land was the basis of nearly every family fortune in the country. The very complications of the system themselves made its abolition almost impossible. However, Maitland thought that there was real danger of a reception during the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Starkey's other suggestions corresponded in the main with reforms actually effected by Henry VIII. He showed great tact in suiting them to Henry's policy and personal tastes. To advocate vernacular services in churches, and translation of the Bible, might seem heterodox and Lutheran at first; but in 1536 Cromwell's injunctions provided for the encouragement of Bible reading by the placing of English Bibles in churches (Coverdale's and the Great Bible being the approved versions) and for the teaching of the Paternoster and the commandments in English. Starkey's plea for clerical marriages was, however, a mistake, to judge by their firm prohibition in the Six Articles.

His pleas for reform in legal procedure tallied with Henry's efforts to expedite processes by means of the Star Chamber. In 1536, as Starkey had hoped, the privileges of sanctuary men were again curtailed: they were to wear badges, carry no weapons, and remain in

<sup>1</sup> Maitland, *English Law and the Renaissance*, 1901.

sanctuary overnight. Further legislation in the same year was directed to ends of which Starkey had expressed approval: the statute against the decay of houses and husbandry was reinforced; there was provision for the re-building of towns, and for the regulation of the cloth-trade. Sturdy beggars were to be made to work.

Starkey had shown interest in nobly built cities: Henry VIII had designed the transformation of York House into Whitehall Palace, planned Nonsuch Palace, and helped to alter Greenwich and Hampton Court. Starkey had emphasised the importance of sport and outdoor exercise in martial arts: in his youth Henry VIII had been an athlete devoted to tournaments and hunting. Starkey insisted on the importance of education; in Henry VIII he had a king who was genuinely interested in scholarship, who wrote his famous reply to Luther that earned him the title of Defender of the Faith, who enjoyed intellectual debates, who fostered a project for a law college and founded several Regius Professorships.

It is impossible to say how far this coincidence of ideas was due to chance and how far to Starkey's rhetorical training in suiting the arguments to the character of the person addressed: the reader's impression is, however, that Starkey's vision was politic rather than idealistic.

But the limitations of the *Dialogue* necessarily give it individuality. As a whole, it is more distinctly characterised than, say, the *Discourse of the Common Weal* or Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*, while it contains ideas as valuable as there are in either of these. It deserves to be more widely known and appreciated—which is the justification for a modernised edition of the text which the ordinary reader can use without being constantly irritated by a series of unfamiliar and disparate spellings. For scholars who want an exact reproduction of the text of Starkey's MS., Mr. Cowper's edition is satisfactory, apart from a few minor misreadings: but it is not easily accessible, and has all the unattractiveness of a late-nineteenth-century textbook. There is a clear case for the issue of a new edition which can be read as well as consulted.

My debt to J. M. Cowper and S. J. Herrtage, the previous editors of the *Dialogue* and the *Life and Letters*, will be obvious. I should also like to thank Dr. E. M. W. Tillyard, Professor Bruce Dickins and Mr. Christopher Morris for many valuable suggestions and criticisms, more particularly in the history of the period.

K. M. BURTON



## EDITORIAL NOTE

THERE is only one known manuscript of Starkey's *Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*; it is kept in the Record Office (S.P. 1/90). Presumably it is the one sent to Henry VIII by Starkey, although the dedicatory letter which precedes it is a copy in another hand. The manuscript of the *Dialogue* itself is in Starkey's hand. It lacks a title and is divided into only two parts, the first numbered pp. 27-206 and the second pp. 1-71. The first page is much corrected, stained and faded, and there are frequent corrections throughout the manuscript.

No edition of the work was published till 1871, when J. M. Cowper edited it for the Early English Text Society. His edition exactly reproduced the spelling (though not the punctuation) of the manuscript; contractions were printed in full, in italics. This edition was reprinted in 1898.

The spelling in the present edition has been modernised, but all significant by-forms and inflections have been retained, with the arbitrary exception of "hyt" and "veray," which would recur with sufficient frequency to annoy the average reader: they are uniformly printed as "it" and "very." Starkey was inconsistent in his use of by-forms; for example, he wrote both "peacybul" and "paysybul," "though" and "thought." I have not attempted to impose uniformity in places where the difference is more than one of spelling. Most inflections have been retained, with the exception of Starkey's persistent use of "-ys" to indicate the plural of nouns.

Paragraphing and punctuation are very infrequent in the manuscript. That of this text is independent of the 1871 edition, and is an attempt to make the text as intelligible as possible.

Apart from spelling, paragraphing and punctuation, the present text is almost identical with that of the 1871 edition, but the manuscript in the Record Office has been consulted, and no alterations have been made without careful consideration of the manuscript reading. Starkey's marginal headings have been omitted. They add nothing to the meaning of the text, they occur only occasionally, and serve merely to underline the main point of the particular page.

An asterisk following a word denotes that it is either doubtful or

non-existent in the manuscript; a dagger following a clause or sentence indicates that it was added in the margin by Starkey without a note of its intended position. I have tried to put it in the most reasonable place on the page.

K. M. B.

# A DIALOGUE BETWEEN REGINALD POLE AND THOMAS LUPSET

## CHAPTER I

### LUPSET

Much time\* past, Master Pole, I\* have desired greatly\* to commune\*<sup>1</sup> with you, being\* moved thereto by the great\* friendship and familiarity which of youth growing betwix us is now so by virtue increased and confirmed that nature hath not so sure a band and knot to couple and join any hearts togidder <sup>2</sup> in true love and amity. Wherefore I am right glad, Master Pole, that I have now at this time here found you, both, as me seemeth, at convenient leisure to commune and talk, and also in this place of Bisham, whereas the image and memory of your old ancetors<sup>3</sup> of great nobility shall, as I trust, stir and move your heart and mind to the same purpose that I would now (and long have desired to) commune<sup>4</sup> unto you.

### POLE

Truth it is that leisure here, as you say, lacketh none at all; but I pray you what is that, good Master Lupset, that you seem so earnestly to will? It appeareth to be, by your beginning, some great matter and weighty.

### LUPSET

Truth, it is a great matter indeed and, as to me it seemeth, touching the whole order of your life, Master Pole; and shortly to show you, without long circumstance, thus it is.

I have much and many times marvelled, reasoning with myself why you, Master Pole, after so many years spent in quiet studies of letters and learning, and after such experience of the manners of man, taken in diverse parts beyond the sea, have not before this settled yourself and applied your mind to the handling of the matters of the common weal here in our own nation, to the intent that both your friends and

<sup>1</sup> talk

<sup>2</sup> together

<sup>3</sup> ancestors

<sup>4</sup> communicate

country might now at the last receive and take some fruit of your long studies, wherein you have spent your whole youth—as I ever took it—to the same purpose and end.

You know right well, Master Pole, that to this all men are born and of nature brought forth: to commune such gifts as be to them given, each one to the profit of other, in perfit civility,<sup>1</sup> and not to live to their own pleasure and profit, without regard of the weal of their country, forgetting all justice and equity. I need not to rehearse to you\* (to whom the stories are better known than to me) the example of Plato, Lyncurgus, nor of Solon, by whose wisdom and policy divers cities, countries and nations were brought to civil order and politic<sup>2</sup> life, which,<sup>3</sup> if they had not regarded but followed their own private pleasure and fantasy, had yet remained in their old rudeness<sup>4</sup> and lived like wild beasts in the woods, without laws and rules of honesty.

Wherefore me seemeth, whosoever he be which, drawn by the sweetness of his studies, and by his own quietness and pleasure moved,<sup>5</sup> leaveth the cure<sup>6</sup> of the common weal and policy, he doth manifest wrong to his country and friends, and is plain unjust and full of iniquity, as he that<sup>7</sup> regardeth not his office and duty, to the which above all he is most bounden by nature. Of this, Master Pole, many men do you accuse, saying that since you have been of your country so well nourished and brought up, so well set forward to gadder<sup>8</sup> prudence and wisdom, you ought now to study to maintain and avance<sup>9</sup> the weal of this same your country, to the which you are bounden no less than the child to the father when he is, by sickness or age, impotent and not of power<sup>10</sup> to help himself. You see your country, as me seemeth, require your help, and as it were cry and call unto you busily for the same, and you—as drowned in the pleasure of letters and private studies—give no year<sup>10</sup> thereto, but forgetting her utterly suffer her still to want your help and succour upon your behalf, not without great injury. Wherefore, Master Pole, now at the last wake out of this dream; remember your country, look to your friends, consider your office and duty that you are most bounden unto. And so now thus you have briefly heard the cause of my coming and purpose at this time.

## POLE

Master Lupset, your purpose is good, and toucheth, as you said, no

<sup>1</sup> perfect good citizenship    <sup>2</sup> political    <sup>3</sup> (the nations)    <sup>4</sup> barbarous state  
<sup>5</sup> motivated    <sup>6</sup> care    <sup>7</sup> like one who    <sup>8</sup> gather    <sup>9</sup> advance    <sup>10</sup> ear

small matter. Indeed it cannot be denied but it is a goodly thing to meddle<sup>1</sup> with the matters of the common weal, and a noble virtue to do good to our friends and country, to the which, as you say, we are born and brought forth. Wherefore not without a cause you exhort me thereto, as to the end of all man's studies and acts, and best thing in this life to be attained unto. This is your purpose; but, Master Lupset, here we must a little stay. Me seemeth you remember not the common saying: "He was never good master that never was scholar, nor never good captain<sup>2</sup> that never was soldier." I think it very convenient,<sup>3</sup> before I begin to meddle with the rule of other, surely to learn to rule myself; for he that cannot govern one, undoubtedly lacketh craft<sup>4</sup> to govern many. I never heard of any mariner able to govern a great ship which never could govern well a little boat. Wherefore, when I have had sufficient experience of the ruling of myself, and by the opinion of other judged to<sup>5</sup> do that right well, then, peradventure,<sup>6</sup> I will not refuse the causes of my country and ruling of other.

Howbeit, Master Lupset, in your communication meseemeth lieth no small doubt. I would be glad to do the best, and that to follow wherein lieth the perfection of man, but whether it stand in the active life, and in administration of the matters of the common weal, as you seem to say, or else in the contemplative, and knowledge of things, it is not all sure. For, seeing the perfection of man resteth in the mind and in the chief and purest part thereof, which is reason and intelligence, it seemeth without doubt that knowledge of God, of nature, and of all the works thereof should be the end of man's life, and the chief point therein of all men to be looked unto. Wherefore the old and antique philosophers forsook the meddling with matters of common weals, and applied themselves to the secret studies and searching of nature as to the chief thing wherein seemed to rest the perfection of man; and thus to them it appeared that prudence and policy were not to be compared with high philosophy. Better it seemed to them to know God and the whole course of nature than to know the order and rule<sup>7</sup> of cities and towns—better to know the laws that nature hath set in man's heart surely<sup>8</sup> than the laws which man's wit hath devised by policy: of the which, the one pertaineth to the civil<sup>9</sup> and politic life, the other to the

<sup>1</sup> concern oneself

<sup>4</sup> skill

<sup>7</sup> the method of ordering and ruling

<sup>2</sup> captain

<sup>5</sup> am considered by others

<sup>8</sup> firmly

<sup>3</sup> suitable

<sup>6</sup> peradventure

<sup>9</sup> civic



quiet and contemplative. Wherefore though I were indeed apt<sup>1</sup> to meddle with the matters of the common weal, yet it may be doubted, Master Lupset, as it appeareth, whether it be best so to do or not.

### LUPSET

Well, Master Pole, as touching your aptness I will now no further reason (of the which<sup>2</sup> no man doth doubt, wherefore this is but an excuse). And so that part I will leave.

But, sir, of your doubt I somewhat with myself now do marvel. For though it be so that many of the ancient philosophers, for the maintenance of their idle and slumbering life, doubted much thereof, yet me seemeth you, after so many years had in the study of the school of Aristotle, should nothing doubt therein at all, insomuch as he teacheth and showeth most manifestly the perfection of man to stand jointly in both, and nother<sup>3</sup> in the bare contemplation and knowledge of things separate from all business of the world, nother in the administration of matters of the common weal, without any further regard and direction thereof:<sup>4</sup> for of them, after his sentence,<sup>5</sup> the one is the end of the other. As we may also see by common experience, all labours, business and travail, of wise men handled, in matters of the common weal, are ever referred to this end and purpose: that the whole body of the commonalty<sup>6</sup> may live in quietness and tranquillity, every part doing his office and duty, and so (as much as the nature of man will suffer) all to attain to their natural perfection.

To this every honest man meddling in the common weal ought to look chiefly unto; this is the mark that every man, prudent and politic, ought to shoot at: first to make himself perfit, with all virtues garnishing his mind, and then to commune the same perfection to other. For little availeth virtue that is not published abroad to the profit of other; little availeth treasure closed in coffers which never is communed to the succour of other. For all such gifts of God and nature must ever be applied to the common profit and utility; whereby man, as much as he may, shall ever follow the nature of God, Whose infinite goodness is by this chiefly declared and opened to the world, that to every thing and creature He giveth part thereof according to their nature and capacity. So that virtue and learning, not communed to other, is

<sup>1</sup> fit

<sup>2</sup> (your aptness)

<sup>3</sup> neither

<sup>4</sup> without more consideration of their right course and aim

<sup>5</sup> according to him

<sup>6</sup> community

like unto riches heaped in corners, never applied to the use of other.

Therefore it is not sufficient, a man<sup>1</sup> to get knowledge and virtue, delighting himself only therewith, as the old philosophers did which took such pleasure in private studies that they despised the politic life of man, but chiefly he must study to commune his virtues to the profit of other. And this is the end of the civil life, or, as me seemeth, rather the true administration of the common weal, the which you see now, Master Pole, how these philosophers (by whose example you appear to excuse yourself) most avoided and unjustly fled, overmuch delighting in their own private studies. Howbeit I will not yet say and plainly affirm that therein they did utterly nought, so abstaining from the common weal; the which peradventure they did other<sup>2</sup> because they found themselves not meet to the handling of such matters, or else because they would, as you said of yourself, first learn to rule themselves before they took upon them any rule of other.

But this one thing I dare affirm—that if they did for this purpose abstain, as thereby to attain higher perfection and so to follow the best trade of life, then they surely were deceived. For though it be so that learning and knowledge of nature be a pleasant thing and a high perfection of man's mind and nature, yet if you sunderly<sup>3</sup> compare it with justice and policy,<sup>4</sup> undoubtedly it is not to be preferred thereto as a thing rather to be chosen and followed. For who is he so far without reason that would not, though he might by his private study and labour know all the secrets of nature, leave all that aside and apply himself rather to help his whole country by prudence and policy, none otherwise than he would do which lacketh food necessary to his body—rather procure that than the knowledge of all natural philosophy?

For ever that which is best is not of all men nor at all times to be pursued. It is meet for a man, being sick, rather to procure his health than to study about the procuring of the common wealth. It is better, as Aristotle saith, for a man being in great poverty rather to procure some riches than high philosophy; and yet philosophy of itself, as all men know, is far to be preferred above all worldly riches. And so likewise, albeit that high philosophy and contemplation of nature be of itself a greater perfection of man's mind, as it<sup>5</sup> which is the end of the active life, to the which all men's deeds should ever be referred, yet the meddling with the causes of the common weal is more necessary and

<sup>1</sup> for a man

<sup>2</sup> either

<sup>3</sup> separately

<sup>4</sup> statecraft

<sup>5</sup> that

ever rather and first to be chosen, as the principal mean whereby we may attain to the other. For hither tendeth all prudence and policy: to bring the whole country to quietness and civility,<sup>1</sup> that every man, and so the whole, may at the last attain to such perfection as by nature is to the dignity of man due, which as it seemeth resteth in the communing of all such virtues as to the dignity of man are convenient,<sup>2</sup> to the profit of other, living togidder in civil life and politic; yea, and, as it were, in the forming of other to their natural perfection. For like as the body of man is then most perfit in his nature when it hath power to gender<sup>3</sup> another like thereunto, so is the mind then most perfit when it communeth and spreadeth his virtues abroad to the instruction of other. Then it is most like unto the nature of God, Whose infinite virtue is therein most perceived, that He communeth His goodness to all creatures: to some more, to some less, according to their nature and dignity.

Wherefore it is not to be doubted but if those ancient philosophers, moved by any pleasure of their secret studies, abhorred<sup>4</sup> thus from the politic life and from this communing of their virtues to the profit of other in civility, they were greatly to be blamed and by no mean can be excused, as they which pretermitted<sup>5</sup> and left their chief office and duty to the which they were by nature most bounden. For as you plainly, Master Pole, now see, the perfection of man standeth not in bare knowledge and learning without application of it to any use or profit of other; but the very perfection of man's mind resteth in the use and exercise of all virtues and honesty, and chiefly in the chief virtue whereunto tend all the other, which is, doubtless, the communing of high wisdom to the use of other, in which standeth man's felicity. So that this, Master Pole, now you (I trow) plainly do see: that if you will follow the trade of the ancient philosophers, you shall not follow that thing which I am sure you above all other most desire: that is to say, the best kind of life and most convenient to the nature of man, which is born to common civility, one ever to be ready to help another by all good and right policy.

#### POLE

Well, Master Lupset, you have right well satisfied me in my doubt, I cannot deny. But yet insomuch as your communication is grounded

<sup>1</sup> civil order

<sup>2</sup> proper

<sup>3</sup> engender

<sup>4</sup> shrank in horror

<sup>5</sup> like those who neglected

on that which seemeth doubtful, therewith you have brought me into another greater than that. You said last of all that man is born, and of nature brought forth, to a civility, and to live in politic order—the which thing to me seemeth clean contrary. For if you call this civility and living in politic order, a commonalty to live other under a prince or a common counsel<sup>1</sup> in cities and towns, meseemeth man should not be born thereto, forasmuch as man at the beginning lived many years without any such policy; at the which time he lived more virtuously and more according to the dignity of his nature than he doth now in this which you call politic order and civility. We see also now in our days, those men which live out of cities and towns, and have fewest laws to be governed by, live better than other do in their goodly cities never so well build and inhabited, governed with so many laws for common.<sup>2</sup> You see by experience in great cities most vice, most subtlety and craft; and, contrary, ever in the rude country most study of virtue, and very true simplicity. You see what adultery, murder and vice, what usury, craft and deceit, what gluttony and all pleasure of body is had in cities and towns, by the reason of this society and company of men togidder, which all in the country and rude life of them is avoided, by the reason that they live not togidder after your civility.<sup>3</sup> Therefore if this be civil life and order—to live in cities and towns with so much vice and disorder—meseem man should not be born thereto, but rather to life in the wild forest, there more following the study of virtue, as it is said men did in the golden age wherein man lived according to his natural dignity.

#### *LUPSET*

Nay, Master Pole, you take the matter amiss. This is not the civil life that I mean—to live togidder in cities and towns so far out of order as it were a multitude conspiring togidder in vice, one taking pleasure of another without regard of honesty. But this I call the civil life, contrary:<sup>4</sup> living togidder in good and politic order, one ever ready to do good to another, and as it were conspiring<sup>5</sup> togidder in all virtue and honesty. This is the very true and civil life; and though it be so that man abuseth the society and company of man in cities and towns, giving himself to all vice, yet we may not therefore cast down cities and towns and drive man to the woods again and wild forests wherein he

<sup>1</sup> council

<sup>2</sup> in common

<sup>3</sup> according to your theory of civil order

<sup>4</sup> on the contrary

<sup>5</sup> uniting, combining (not pejorative)

lived at the first beginning, rudely.<sup>1</sup> The fault whereof is nother in the cities nor towns, nother in the laws ordained thereto, but it is in the malice of man, which abuseth and turneth that thing which might be to his wealth<sup>2</sup> and felicity to his own destruction and misery—as he doth almost all thing that God and nature hath provided to him for the maintenance of his life. For how abuseth he his health, strength and beauty, his wit, learning and policy, how all manner of meats and drinks to the vain pleasure of the body; yea, and shortly to say, everything almost he abuseth. And yet they<sup>3</sup> things are not therefore utterly to be cast away nor to be taken from the use of man.

And so the society and company of man is not to be accused as the cause of this disorder, but rather such as be great, wise and politic men, which fly from office and authority; by whose wisdom the multitude might be contained<sup>4</sup> and kept in good order and civility—such, I say, are rather to be blamed. For like as by the persuasion of wise men in the beginning men were brought from their rudeness and bestial life to this civility so natural to man, so by like wisdom they must be contained and kept therein. Therefore, Master Pole, without any mo<sup>5</sup> cavillations, meseemeth it should be best for you to apply your mind to be of the number of them which study to restore this civil order and maintain this virtuous life in cities and towns, to the common utility.

### POLE

As for cavillations, Master Lupset, I purpose to make none, except you call them cavillations which I call reasoning and doubting for the clearing of the truth, of the which sort I will not cease to make more whensoever your communication is not to me clear. Therefore, with pardon, you must patiently hear me doubt a little further, moved of your words.

You said right now that this civil life was a politic order and, as it were, a conspiracy in honesty and virtue, stablished by common assent. This meseemeth bringeth the whole matter in more doubt than it was yet before, yea, and bringeth all to uncertainty and plain confusion. For they Turks will surely say on their behalf that their life is most natural and politic and that they consent togidder in all virtue and honesty. The Saracen, contrary, upon his behalf, will defend his policy, saying that his of all is most best and most convenient to man's dignity.

<sup>1</sup> barbarously

<sup>2</sup> well-being

<sup>3</sup> these

<sup>4</sup> restrained

<sup>5</sup> more

The Jew constantly will affirm his law to be above all other, als<sup>1</sup> received of God's own mouth immediately.<sup>2</sup> And the Christian man most surely believeth that his law and religion is above the rest most agreeable to reason and nature, as a thing confirmed by God's own divinity. So that by this mean it appeareth all standeth in the judgment and opinion of man, insomuch that which is the very true politic and civil life, no man surely by your definition can affirm with any certainty

### LUPSET

Well, sir, this is no small doubt to some men which now you have moved. Wherefore because such there be which covertly take away all civility<sup>3</sup> and would bring all to confusion and tyranny, saying there is no difference betwix vice and virtue but strong opinion, and that all such things hang of<sup>4</sup> the foolish fancy and judgment of man, I shall first show you how virtue standeth by nature, and not only by the opinion of man, and second, how and by what mean this foolish opinion came into those light brains.

And first, this is certain and sure: that man by nature far excelleth in dignity all other creatures in earth, where he is by the high providence of God set to govern and rule, order and temper all to his pleasure by wisdom and policy, none otherwise than God Himself doth in heaven govern and rule all celestial things immediately. Wherefore he was of the old philosophers called a earthly god and, as it were, lord of all other beasts and creatures, applying them all unto his use. For all be unto him subject, all by policy are brought to his obedience; there is no beast so strong, fierce or hardy, so wild, ood<sup>5</sup> or cruel, but to man by wisdom he is subdued, whereby is perceived evidently the excellent dignity of his nature. And furthermore, plainly this thing to see, let us, as it were, out of a higher place behold and consider the wonderful works of man here upon earth, where first we shall see the goodly cities, castles and towns build for the setting forth<sup>6</sup> of the politic life, pleasantly set as they were stars upon earth, wherein we shall see also marvellous good laws, statutes and ordinances devised by man by high policy for the maintaining of the civil life. We shall see infinite strange arts and crafts, invented by man's wit for his commodity,<sup>7</sup> some for pleasure and some for necessity. Further, we shall see how by his labour and diligence he hath tilled the earth and brought forth infinite

<sup>1</sup> as

<sup>4</sup> depend on

<sup>2</sup> directly

<sup>5</sup> mad

<sup>3</sup> surreptitiously take away all civil order

<sup>6</sup> promoting

<sup>7</sup> ease

fruits for his necessary food and pleasant sustenance, so that now the earth (which else should have lain like a forest rude and untilled) by the diligent labour and policy of man is brought to marvellous culture and fertility.

Thus, if we with ourself reason and consider the works of man here upon earth, we shall nothing doubt of his excellent dignity, but plainly affirm that he hath in him a sparkle of divinity, and is surely of a celestial and divine nature, seeing that by memory and wit<sup>1</sup> also he conceiveth<sup>2</sup> the nature of all thing. For there is nothing here in this world, nother in heaven above, nor in earth beneath, but he by his reason comprehendeth it. So that I think we may conclude that man by nature in excellence and dignity even so excelleth all other creatures here upon earth as God exceedeth the nature of man.

And now to our purpose. Thus it appeareth to me, that like as man by nature excelleth all other in dignity, so he hath certain virtues by nature convenient to the same excellency: they which by the opinion of man are not conceived and grounded in heart, nor yet be not proper to one nation and not to another, but, stablished by nature, are common to all mankind. As, by example, there is a certain equity and justice among all nations and people whereby they are inclined one to do good to another, one to be beneficial to another, living togidder in a companionable<sup>3</sup> life. And likewise there is a certain temperance of the pleasures of the body which is not measured by the opinion of man, but by the health thereof and natural propagation, as, to eat and drink only to support the health and strength of the body, and to use moderate pleasure with woman; for lawful increase of the people is among all men and all nations esteemed virtue and honesty. And in like manner, man<sup>4</sup> with great courage to defend himself from all violence of other injuries or wrongs, yea and patiently to suffer all such chance as cannot be avoided, is among all people taken as a noble virtue. There is also a certain wit and policy by nature given to man in every place and country, whereby he is inclined to live in civil order according to the dignity of his nature; and to perceive the mean how he may attain thereto, there is furthermore in all men by nature (without any other instruction) rooted a certain reverence to God, whereby they honour him as Governor and Ruler of all this world. For yet there never was nation so rude or blind but for this cause they religiously worshipped and honoured the name of God.

<sup>1</sup> intelligence

<sup>2</sup> understands

<sup>3</sup> social

<sup>4</sup> for man

These virtues, and other like, whereby man (of nature meek, gentle and full of humanity) is inclined and stirred to civil order and loving company, with honest behaviour both toward God and man, are by the power of nature in the heart of man rooted and planted, and by no vain opinion or fancy conceived. And thought<sup>1</sup> it be so that amongs all nations many so live as they had utterly forgotten the dignity of this their nature, and had no such virtues by nature in them set and planted, yet among them all few there be, or none, which, so living, judge themselves to do well, but think themselves they are slipped and fallen from the excellency of their nature, with great and continual grudge<sup>2</sup> of conscience inwardly. For they have rooted in their hearts a certain rule, ever repugning<sup>3</sup> to their manner of living, which they by negligent incontinence suffer to be corrupt; the which rule so certain and so stable is called, of philosophers and wise men, the universal and true law of nature, which to all nations is common, nothing hanging of the opinion and foolish fancy of man. Insomuch that if man by corrupt judgment would exteem<sup>4</sup> virtue as vice, nothing regarding his own dignity, yet virtues, by their own nature, be no less virtues, nor minished<sup>5</sup> of their excellency, by any such frantic fancy, no more than if all men togidder would conspire<sup>6</sup> that there were no God, Who by that foolish opinion should nothing be minished of His high majesty; or if they would say that He nother governeth nor ruleth this world, yet their opinion maketh no less His high providence. Wherefore plainly it appeareth that these virtues stand not in the opinion of man, but by the benefit and power of nature in his heart are rooted and planted, inclining him ever to the civil life, according to the excellent dignity of his nature. And this inclination and rule of living, by these virtues stabled and confirmed, is called, as I said, the law of nature, which, though all men follow not, yet all men approve.<sup>7</sup>

But here we must note that, like as in many things which by experience we daily see, nature requireth the diligence of man, leaving them unperfit of themselves, as the seeds and fruits of the ground, which she will never bring to perfection, if man withhold his diligence and labour; so in these virtues and law of nature, she requireth the aid and diligence of man, which else will soon be oppressed and corrupt. There be in man's life so many occasions of destroying these seeds and virtues, plants and laws, that except there be joined some good pro-

<sup>1</sup> though

<sup>2</sup> uneasiness

<sup>3</sup> opposed

<sup>4</sup> esteem

<sup>5</sup> diminished

<sup>6</sup> combine to say

<sup>7</sup> acknowledge



vision for their springing up and good culture, they shall never bring forth their fruit, they shall never bring man to his perfection.

Wherefore among all men and all nations, as I think, upon earth there be and ever hath been other certain customs and manners by long use and time confirmed and approved, other laws, written and devised by the politic wit of man, received and stablished for the maintenance and setting forward of these natural seeds and plants of virtue; which custom and law, by man so ordained and devised, is called the civil law, forbecause<sup>1</sup> they be as means to bring man to the perfection of the civil life. Without the ordinance of these laws, the other soon will be corrupt, the weeds will soon overgrow the good corn.

This law civil is far different from the other, for in every country it is diverse and variable, yea almost in every city and town. This law taketh effect of<sup>2</sup> the opinion of man; it resteth wholly in his consent, and varieth according to the place and time, insomuch that in diverse time and place contrary laws are both good and both convenient to the politic life. Whereas the law of nature is ever one, in all countries, firm and stable, and never for the time varieth; it is never changeable; the consent of man doth nothing thereto; it hangeth nothing<sup>3</sup> of time nor place, but according as right reason is ever one, so is this law, and never varieth after the fancy of man. This law is the ground and end of the other, to the which it must ever be referred, none otherwise than the conclusions of arts mathematical are ever referred to their principles. For civil ordinance is but as a mean to bring man to observe this law of nature, insomuch that if there be any civil law ordained which cannot be resolved thereto, it is of no value. For all good civil laws spring and issue out of the law of nature, as brooks and rivers out of fountains and wells; and to that all must be resolved and referred as to the end why they be ordained, to the observation whereof they are but as means.

And thus now I think, Master Pole, we may see that all virtue and honesty resteth not in the strong opinion of man, but that like as there is a certain law by nature ordained to induce and bring man to a life convenient and according to his excellent dignity, so there is\* a certain virtue and honesty consequently<sup>4</sup> annexed to the same law, which by the power of nature only, and nothing by the opinion of man, is so stabled<sup>5</sup> and set, that albeit that all men by ill education corrupt would consent and agree to a contrary order, yet were that law, that virtue and honesty, of no less power, strength nor authority. And like as to

<sup>1</sup> because

<sup>2</sup> by

<sup>3</sup> in no way

<sup>4</sup> necessarily

<sup>5</sup> instituted

this law of nature is consequently annexed this natural virtue and honesty (which in every place and time is of equal power) so there is to law civil and the observation thereof coupled also a certain virtue and honesty, which like to the law only remaineth<sup>1</sup> in the opinion of man and hath his strength and power thereof. For though it be so that to be obedient to the laws civil, so long as they be not contrary to the law of God nor of nature, is ever virtue and honesty, yet to this law or that law all men are not bounden, but only such as receive them and be under the dominion of them which have authority of making thereof. As, to abstain from flesh upon the Friday, with us it is now reputed a certain virtue—with the Turks, nothing so; priests to live chaste, with us it is a certain virtue and honesty—with the Greeks, it is nothing so; to marry but one wife, with us it is a certain virtue also—with other nations, as Turks, Moors and Saracens, it is nothing so. And thus in infinite other it is evident to see how that to be obedient to the laws in every country it is a certain virtue, but of that sort which hath his strength and power wholly of the opinion and consent of man.

And so this is truth, as now you may see: that virtue and honesty partly standeth by nature and partly by the opinion of man. Whereby now you may perceive the pestilent persuasion of them which say and affirm betwix vice and virtue no difference to be but only strong opinion and fancy: they would bring all to confusion, and leave no order by nature certain. But the very cause of their error is arrogant blindness; they think themselves to be of such high policy that no man may see so far as they, and indeed they see less than other. Such have only a little smattering in good learning and high philosophy; they comprehend not the whole order of nature, they conceive not the excellent dignity of man; they deeply consider not the manner of living according to the same, by the reason whereof they cannot discern the power of this natural law; they cannot see this high virtue and honesty coupled thereto. But because man, if he be brought up in corrupt opinion, hath no perceivance<sup>2</sup> of this natural law, but suffereth it by negligence to be oppressed, as there were no such seeds planted in him, therefore they say all standeth in the opinion of man, all resteth in his fancy, and that his consent only maketh both virtue and vice.

And thus now, Master Pole, you have heard shortly, after mine opinion, the cause of such errors whereby some are driven to judge all vice and virtue only to consist in the opinion of man, which is arrogant

<sup>1</sup> rests

<sup>2</sup> perception

blindness, nothing considering the dignity of man, nor the life according to the same; but of his acts measuring his dignity, affirm plainly that seeing so commonly he followeth vice that, by nature, virtue there is none, but that only men conspire by consent to call virtue that which indeed is none. Which is much like to say, as if all men would by consent agree and conspire to say there were no God, that their foolish consent by and by<sup>1</sup> should take away the nature of God. Wherein you see the great folly and blindness, which is no less in this—to say that virtue, by nature, there is none, because the most part of men follow vice, and in their hearts do as it were conspire again the dignity of virtue and nature of man. They consider not the frailty of man, which, seeing the best, followeth the worst, overcome by sensual pleasure; they consider not the negligence of man, which suffereth his seeds (by nature instinct<sup>2</sup>) by wordly occasions to be over-run; they consider not the blindness of man, which by ill education groweth in him; but of<sup>3</sup> the effect foolishly they judge all to stand in the opinion of man—and this is the cause of their foolish error.

And so now of this to make answer to your doubt, Master Pole, meseemeth nothing hard at all. For though it be so that the Turk, Saracen, Jew and Christian man, and other diverse sects and nations, dissent and discord<sup>4</sup> in the manner of policy, every one judging his own to be best, yet in all such thing as pertaineth by nature to the dignity of man and manner of living according to the same they consent and agree without any discord or diversity. All judge God above all to be honoured as Governor and Ruler of this world; all judge one bound to aid and succour another; all judge it to be convenient to live togidder in politic life. So that, in the law and rule by nature convenient to the dignity of man and in all virtue and honesty annexed to the same, surely they agree. Wherefore, albeit they dissent in their civil ordinance and politic mean of the observance of this common law, yet it is not to be doubted but the civil life is a politic order of men conspiring togidder in virtue and honesty, of such sort as by nature is convenient to the dignity of man.

And as touching the discord in the particular mean of keeping these laws planted by nature as some men think, of high wisdom and learning, it greatly forceth not<sup>5</sup> at all. For how diverse soever they civil laws be, and variable in every sect and country, yet so long as man, ordered thereby, faileth not from the ground<sup>6</sup> and erreth not from the

<sup>1</sup> immediately

<sup>2</sup> innate

<sup>3</sup> by

<sup>4</sup> disagree

<sup>5</sup> it does not matter

<sup>6</sup> fundamental principle

end but keepeth this natural law, ensueth<sup>1</sup> the virtue annexed to the same, he then followeth the politic order, and keepeth good civility. Insomuch that the Jew, Saracen, Turk and Moor, so long as they observe their civil ordinance and statutes devised by their old fathers in every sect, directing them to the law of nature—so long, I say, there be men which earnestly affirm them to live well, and everyone in his sect to be saved, and none to perish utterly, seeing the infinite goodness of God hath no less made them after His own image and form than He hath made the Christian man, and the most part of them never, peradventure, heard of the law of Christ, wherefore, so long as they live after the law of nature, observing also their civil ordinance as mean to bring them to the end of the same, they shall not be damned. Thus I have heard the opinion of great wise men, well pondering the goodness of God and of nature. But whether it be so or not, let us, after the mind of Sain Paul, leave this to the secret judgment of God.

And of this be assured, of this be certain, that our laws and ordinances be agreeable to the law of nature, seeing they are all laid<sup>2</sup> by Christ Himself and by His Holy Spirit. We are sure they shall bring us to our salvation if we give perfit faith and sure trust to the promise of God in them to us made. This to us faithful and Christian men is no doubt. Therefore how other sects shall do, to what perfection soever their laws shall bring them, let the secret wisdom of God thereof be judge, and let us be assured that our laws, by Christ the Son of God and by His Holy Spirit increased and confirmed, shall bring us to such perfection as accordeth to the dignity of the nature of man. Of this thing we are by faith confirmed, more sure, more certain, than of those things which we see, feel or hear, or by any sense may perceive.

Wherefore, Master Pole, let this diversity of sects and laws nothing trouble us at all, which, peradventure of necessity, followeth the nature of man none otherwise than the diversity of language and tongue. For like as man naturally is born to speak and express the conceit<sup>3</sup> of mind one to another, and yet to no particular language they are born, so to follow the law of nature all men are born, all nations by nature are inclined thereto, and yet to no particular mean by civil ordinance decreed they are nother bounden nor born. Therefore, notwithstanding this diversity of sects and laws, we may yet right well affirm the definition of the civil life before said to be right good and reasonable, which is: a politic order of a multitude conspiring togidder in virtue

<sup>1</sup> aims at

<sup>2</sup> established

<sup>3</sup> thoughts

and honesty, to the which man by nature is ordained. This is the end of man's life; to this every man ought to look; to this every man ought to refer all his acts, thoughts and deeds; this every man to his power<sup>1</sup> ought to aid and set forth; this, all doubts laid apart, every man ought to study to maintain. Wherefore, Master Pole, now I will in this cause no more reason with you, but pray you, all occasions drawing you from that laid aside, to apply yourself to the handling of the matter of the common weal, which you know right well is the end of all studies and, as you would say, the only mark for every honest mind to shoot at.

### POLE

Master Lupset, you have said right well. And though indeed I doubted nothing of this matter that you so earnestly move me unto, yet it hath pleased me well to hear you with such philosophical reasons out of nature drawn confirm the same, so manifestly and clearly declaring it that no man may doubt thereof. For if it be a good thing to help one, it is undoubtedly much better to help many, yea and best of all to help a whole country, insomuch that man so doing nearest approacheth to the nature of God, who thereby is most perceived to be God, that He communicateth His goodness to all other. Therefore, Master Lupset, I am content. Let us agree upon this, let us take this as a ground, that every man ought to apply himself to the setting forward of the common weal, every man ought to study to help his country.

Yet there is another thing to be considered, which hath caused many great, wise and politic men to abhor from common weals, and this is the regard<sup>2</sup> of time and place. For though it be so that a man to meddle with matters pertaining to the weal of his whole country is of all thing best and most to be desired, yet in some time and certain place it is not to be tempted<sup>3</sup> of wise men, which right well perceive their labour to be spent in vain; as in time of tyranny, or in such place where they that rule are bent only to their private weal. What think you among such the counsel of a wise man should avail? Without doubt it should<sup>4</sup> be laughed at, and nothing at all it should be regarded, no more than a tale told among deaf men. Wherefore it seemeth not without cause they ever abstained in such time and place from meddling with matters of the common weal: they see examples of many and divers which with-

<sup>1</sup> as far as he is able

<sup>2</sup> attempted

<sup>3</sup> consideration

<sup>4</sup> would

out profit had attempted the same and nothing got, but only that some of them therefore were put in exile and banished from their country, some put in prison and miserably handled, and some to cruel and shameful death.

It is therefore no small difference in what time and place a wise man is born, and in what time he attempt to handle matters of the common weal. If Plato had found in Sicily a noble prince at such time as he came thither for the devising of laws, he had then showed greater fruits of his wisdom. If Tully had not chanced in the time of the civil war betwix Caesar and Pompey, the city of Rome should have seen and felt much more profit of that noble wit. If Seneca had not been in the time of Nero, so cruel a tyrant,<sup>1</sup> but in the time of Trajan, so noble a prince, his virtue should have been otherwise exteemed, and brought forth other fruit. Thus we see that virtue at all times cannot show his light, no more than the sun at all times can spread abroad his beams. Wherefore they which without regard of time or place will set themselves to handle matters of the common weal may well be compared to them which in great tempest will commit themselves to the dangers of the sea, or without wind set up the sail. Plutarch compareth them to such as, being themselves in dry house, seeing their fellows delight in the rain and willing not to run out, but tarry therein, are not content, but issue out, nothing obtaining but only that they may be wet with their fellows. So they which without regard of time or place run into courts and counsel of princes, where they hear every man speak of the common weal (every man hath that oft in his mouth, that under the pretence and colour<sup>2</sup> thereof they may the better procure their own), soon be corrupt with like opinion, soon draw like affect.<sup>3</sup> For as it is commonly said, hard it is daily to be among thieves and be not a thief. Every man for the most part is like to them with whom he is conversant. Wherefore to attempt the handling of the matters of the common weal without regard other of time or place, nothing obtaining but only to be corrupt with like opinions as they be which meddle therewith, meseemeth great madness and folly. And so albeit therefore, Master Lupset, that to meddle with matters of the common weal and profit your country be indeed of all thing that man may do in this life the best, and of highest perfection, yet now to me it appeareth some respect is to be had both of time and of place.

<sup>1</sup> tyrant

<sup>2</sup> cloak

<sup>3</sup> have similar intentions

## LUPSET

Well, Master Pole, as touching the respect both of time and of place, I think it is something to be considered; and no doubt those men which be of great wisdom and high policy be also fortunate and happy, which chance to be born in such time when they which have in their country high authority and rule, all ambitious affection set apart, only procure the true common weal; and, as Plato saith, those countries be also happy which have such governors as ever look to the same. Howbeit, I think again also that there is nother so much respect of time nother of place to be had as many men judge, which think the highest point of wisdom to stand therein—and so narrowly and so curiously they ponder the time and the place, that in all their lives they nother find time nor place. They look, I trow, for Plato's common weal; in such expectation they spend their life, as they think, with great politic wisdom, but indeed with great frantic folly. For of this I am sure, that such exact considering of time hath caused many common weals utterly to perish; it hath caused in many places much tyranny which might have been amended if wise men, in time and in place, would have bent themselves to that purpose, leaving such fon<sup>1</sup> respect of time and of place.

But, Master Pole, whatsoever regard be of wise men to be had other of time or of place, this to us is certain: that now, in our time, when we have so noble a prince, whom we are sure nothing to have so printed in his breast as the cure of his common weal, both day and night remembering the same, we should have no such respect. For this I dare affirm, there never was prince reigning in this realm which had more fervent love to the wealth of his subjects than hath he; there was never king in any country which bare greater zeal to the administration of justice and setting forth of equity and right than doth he, after he is thereof informed and surely instruct by his wise counsellors and politic men.

Therefore, as I said, like as there is some respect to be had of time for the abstaining from the entreaty<sup>2</sup> of matters of the common weal, so there is much more of taking the time when it is, and taking occasion when it offereth itself. Wherefore, Master Pole, as you now see chiefly to be regarded as the end of all man's studies and cares the wealth of the commonalty, so now also use your time under so noble a prince to the maintenance and setting forward of the same. Let not occasion slip; suffer not your time vainly to pass, which without

<sup>1</sup> foolish

<sup>2</sup> discussion

recovery fleeth away; for, as they say, occasion and time will never be restored again. Therefore, as I have said to you before, without any mo steps, bend yourself to that to the which you are born; look to that which above all is your office and duty.

*P O L E*

Master Lupset, you have bound me now; I have no refuge further to flee. Wherefore I promise you I shall never pretermitt occasion nor time of helping my country, but ever, as they offer themself, I shall be ready to my power ever to apply and endeavour myself to the maintenance and setting forward of the true common weal.

And now because, as you right well and truly have said, we have so noble a prince, which when he knoweth the best he steadfastly will follow it, ever desirous of his common weal; that I may be in the matter more ripe whensoever occasion shall require, I shall now, at this leisure and here in this solitary place, something with you, Master Lupset, devise<sup>1</sup> touching the order of our country and common weal; to the which purpose also meseemeth the time exhorteth us, seeing that now our most noble prince hath assembled his parliament and most wise counsel for the reformation of this his common weal.

*L U P S E T*

Marry, sir, this purpose is marvellous good, and very meet and convenient for the time; and glad I am that I put you in remembrance hereof. Therefore I pray you now exercise yourself therein, that you may be more ready to show your mind openly and in such place where, as I trust, hereafter it shall bring forth some fruit.

*P O L E*

Well, Master Lupset, if you like it well, after this manner we shall devise, because every man speaketh so much of the common weal, and many more, I fear me, do know it indeed. And forbecause the common weal is the end of all parliaments and common counsels, first therefore (to keep a certain process<sup>2</sup> with order) we will search out as near as we can what is the very and true common weal, wherein it<sup>3</sup> standeth,<sup>3</sup> and when it most flourisheth, that we may, having this plainly set before our eyes, all our counsels to this point ever resolve and refer. Second, we will search out thereby the decay of our common weal,

<sup>1</sup> plan

<sup>2</sup> course

<sup>3</sup> what it consists of



with all the common fauts<sup>1</sup> and misorders of the same. Thirdly, we will devise of the cause of this same decay and of the remedy and mean to restore the common weal again. And this shall be the process of our communication.

*LUPSET*

Sir, this process liketh me well. But here of one thing, I pray you, take heed: that in this your device of your communication you follow not the example of Plato, whose order of common weal no people upon earth to this day could ever yet attain. Wherefore it is reputed of many men but as a dream and vain imagination which never can be brought to effect; and of some other it is compared to the Stoic philosopher, who never appeared yet to the light—such virtue and wisdom is attributed to him, that in no mortal man it can be found. Therefore look you to the nature of our country, to the manner of our people, not without respect both of time and of place, that your device hereafter, by the help of our most noble prince, may the sooner obtain<sup>2</sup> his fruit and effect.

*POLE*

Master Lupset, you admonish me right well, and according as you say, as near as I can, so shall I do. But now, Master Lupset, because it is late and time to sup, we will defer the beginning of our communication till tomorrow in the morning.

*LUPSET*

Master sir, you say very well; for meseemeth this is a matter meet for the morning, when our wits be most ready and fresh.

<sup>1</sup> faults

<sup>2</sup> obtain

## CHAPTER 2

### POLE

Seeing that we be now here met, Master Lupset, according to our promise, to devise of a matter, as you know, of great difficulty and harduous,<sup>1</sup> I require you most tenderly to be diligent and attent,<sup>2</sup> and freely also to show your mind therein, that whereas my reasons shall appear to you sklender<sup>3</sup> and weak, with your diligence you may them supply.<sup>4</sup> And cease not to doubt as you have occasions—for doubting, you know, bringeth the truth to light.

And though it be so that the matter be hard and requireth great labour to the ensearching<sup>5</sup> of the truth contained in the same, yet the great fruit and profit which may rise and issue of the same may somewhat encourage us and give us stomach. For this I judge to be of sure truth: that if men knew certainly what is the true common weal, they would not so little regard it as they do; they would not so neglect it and despise it as commonly they do. For now as every man speaketh of it and hath it oft in his mouth, so few there be that exteem it and have it fixed in their hearts, which plainly cometh as (after the mind of the most wise philosopher Socrates) all other ill doth—of vain, false and corrupt opinion. For no man wittingly and willing will do himself hurt. Wherefore if men knew that, so little regarding the common weal, they do themselves therewith also hurt, surely they would more exteem it than they do, which thing I trust to make evidently to be seen hereafter.

### LUPSET

Sir, this thing of Socrates seemeth to me somewhat strange, to say that all springeth of ignorance, as of the ground of all vice. Therefore before that we pass any further let us a little examine this, forasmuch as you seem to take it as a sure ground.

Commonly it is said (and meseemeth every man feeleth it in himself) that those which be ill know they do naught, and yet, by pleasure overcome, they follow the same contrary to their own conscience and knowledge. Every man knoweth, as it appeareth to me, they should follow virtue. And yet you see how they follow the contrary. Every

<sup>1</sup> arduous

<sup>2</sup> attentive

<sup>3</sup> slender

<sup>4</sup> reinforce

<sup>5</sup> scrutinising

man knoweth, as I think, they should above all regard the common weal. And yet every man seeketh his own profit. Wherefore it appeareth to me we should attribute all fauts, all vice, rather to malice than to ignorance. Beside this, how shall we defend the liberty of our will, if we be thus led with ignorance? Free will can not be without knowledge both of the good and of the ill. Wherefore meseemeth the ground of your communication standeth in doubt.

#### POLE

Well, Master Lupset, this thing which you now bring in question, moved of<sup>1</sup> the beginning of our communications, seemeth to be a controversy not only betwix the common sort and learned but also betwix Aristotle and Plato, the chief philosophers. Howbeit betwix them I think this discord that appeareth is but in words only and nothing in deed, as it is in many things mo wherein they seem greatly to dissent. For the declaration whereof now in this purpose you shall understand that, after the sentence of Aristotle, the mind of man first of itself is as a clean and pure table, wherein is nothing painted or carved, but of itself apt and indifferent<sup>2</sup> to receive all manner of pictures and image. So man's mind hath first no knowledge of truth, nor first hath no manner of will whereby it is more drawn to good than to ill. But after, as opinion and sure persuasion of good and of ill groweth in by experience and learning, so ever the will conformeth and frameth himself to the knowledge before gotten; insomuch that if it be persuaded that good is ill, and ill good, then ever the will cheseth<sup>3</sup> the ill and leaveth the good, according as she by opinion is instructed. And if the opinion be strong and confirmed with right reason and with right judgment, then she followeth ever that which is good; like as, contrary, when the opinion is wavering and not groundly<sup>4</sup> set, then she, overcome and blinded by pleasure or some other inordinate affect,<sup>5</sup> followeth the ill. So that other out of sure and certain knowledge or light and wavering opinion all the inclination of will taketh his root, which ever is framed according to the knowledge.

Wherefore Socrates ever was wont to say: if the mind of man were instruct with sure knowledge and stable opinion, it should never err nor decline from the straight line of virtuous living; but when there was therein nothing but wavering opinions which with every light contrary persuasion would vanish away, then the mind should be

<sup>1</sup> mooted at    <sup>2</sup> impartially disposed    <sup>3</sup> chooses    <sup>4</sup> firmly    <sup>5</sup> appetite

lightly<sup>1</sup> overcome and shortly blinded with the vain colour<sup>2</sup> of truth. This wavering opinion in man's mind, and this blindness with inordinate affects, he called indeed ignorance, the which he ever noted to be the fountain of all ill and vicious affect reigning in man's mind. Aristotle, more conforming himself to the common judgment of man, said that they which had this opinion of good, be it never so light, wavering and unstable, yet some knowledge it left in man's mind by the reason whereof (after the common opinion of every man) each one in himself, when he doth naught, feeleth a grudge in conscience and repugnance in mind. Wherefore he says that they which be ill have knowledge thereof and yet follow the same. But Plato calleth that same wavering knowledge and light persuasion certain blindness and plain ignorance, insomuch as it is but vain and light opinion, and soon corrupt with the contrary persuasion of ill.

So that in the thing there is no controversy betwix them, but only in words, forbecause that thing which one calleth light knowledge and but a wavering opinion, the other calleth ignorance, specially when it is overcome with the contrary persuasion, as it is in all them which know the good and follow the ill. They have repugnance<sup>3</sup> and diversity of opinions, but the one overcometh the other, and that which overcometh ever he followeth. But if man had certain and sure knowledge of the good, he would never leave it and follow the ill. For, as Aristotle saith, their knowledge which be incontinent<sup>4</sup> and given to vice is blinded for the time with some inordinate affect, wherewith they be, as it were, drunken after such sort that they consider not what is good or what is ill, but, as it were, by the vain shadow thereof they are deceived. And yet, this notwithstanding, they have free will and liberty thereof, forasmuch as they be not of necessity by this persuasion compelled nor drawn to follow the same. For albeit the will of man ever commonly followeth that to the which opinion of perceiving the good or voiding<sup>5</sup> of the ill leadeth it, yet it is not of any necessity, but man, driven nother to one nor to the other, may other by diligence resist that same of himself, or by counsel of other overcome it also. And therein resteth the liberty of mind.

Howbeit, this is of truth: if the reason and will be customably<sup>6</sup> blinded with any persuasion, hard it is to resist thereto, and without

<sup>1</sup> easily

<sup>2</sup> empty pretence

<sup>3</sup> conflict

<sup>4</sup> the knowledge of those who are wanting in self-restraint

<sup>5</sup> avoiding

<sup>6</sup> by custom

great diligence it will not be. For the which cause many men utterly take away the liberty of will and say that ever it is compelled by strong opinion to follow this or that, according to the persuasion. But undoubtedly diligent instruction and wise counsel may at the least in long time restore the will out of such captivity, and bring it again to the old liberty. Yea, and though it be so that so long as it is thus drowned with affects and blinded with ignorance, it ever followeth the blind persuasion out of the which, as I said, as out of a fountain, springeth all vice, all mischief and ill; yet by diligence it may be restored and brought to consider his own dignity. But pleasure and profit so blind reason and so reign there, that hard it is to pluck out this pestilent persuasion which is the cause of all errors in man's life. This is the cause of the destruction of all commonweals, when every man, blinded other by pleasure or profit, considereth not the perfection of man nor the excellency of his own nature, but with ignorance blinded and by corrupt judgment leaveth the best and taketh the worst. Wherefore we may well say that this ignorance, as Socrates said oft, is the fountain of all ill, vice and misery, as well in every private man's life as in every commonalty.

#### *LUPSET*

Why, but I pray you, here a little take heed. For then if it be thus that ignorance, as you say, is the cause of all ill, men are not so much to be blamed as commonly they be. For they do as they know, and if they knew the better, they would also gladly follow the same; and then, as it appeareth, they be unjustly punished in all policies.<sup>1</sup>

#### *POLE*

Nay, Master Lupset, not so. Such ignorance excuseth not errors in man's life, nor maketh him not to be without fault, but, contrary, maketh him more worthy of punishment and blame, according to our common proverb: "He that killeth a man drunk, sober shall be hanged;" insomuch as he himself of this ignorance is the cause, by his own negligence. For if he would other hear counsel of wise and prudent men, or suffer not by negligence the seeds of nature planted in his mind to be oppressed with vain opinion, he should not be so led by ignorance and folly, and should not be so drowned in affects and

<sup>1</sup> civil orders

misery. Wherefore, seeing that he suffereth it, so his fault is greater; he is more to be blamed, nor in no case, by this ignorance, may justly be excused.

#### *LUPSET*

Well then, let us now, I pray you, return to our purpose; that we may the better, and eather<sup>1</sup> also, avoid this ignorance (the fountain of all ill), and search out what is the true common weal. For indeed I think this now to be truth: that if men knew what it were, they would not so little regard it as they do, they would not so highly exteem their own private pleasure and weal.

#### *POLE*

This thing is, and ever hath been, yea, and I dare boldly affirm ever shall be the destruction of all true common weals, and so, consequently, the destruction also of them which so blindly exteem so much their own profit and pleasure, as we shall see more plainly hereafter. But now to our purpose.

After the mind of the ancient and most wise philosopher Aristotle, in the very same thing wherein standeth the wealth and prosperous state of every particular man by himself, resteth also of\* every city or country, the very and true common wealth. The which thing is to all men by common reason evident, forasmuch as the wealth<sup>2</sup> and substance ever of the whole riseth of<sup>3</sup> the wealth of every particular part. Wherefore, if we can first find out that thing which is the wealth of every particular man, we shall then consequently find out also what thing it is that in any city or country we call the very true common weal. And this let us take as a ground to the rest of our communication.

#### *LUPSET*

Marry, sir, but herein, meseemeth, lieth a doubt; for if it be thus, that the common weal rise of the particular weal of every one, then every man ought to study to maintain the particular weal, to the setting forward of the common. And so that thing which you noted before to be the destruction of every common weal, now by this reason and ground should maintain the same.

<sup>1</sup> more easily

<sup>2</sup> well-being

<sup>3</sup> results from

## POLE

Nay, Master Lupset, not so, for these two things agree very well. Overmuch regard of private and particular weal ever destroyeth the common, as mean<sup>1</sup> and convenient regard thereof maintaineth the same. For this is truth, as it is commonly said: if every man would mend one, if every man would cure one, as he should do, we should have a very true common weal. But now whereas many, blinded with the love of themselves, regard their particular weal overmuch, it is necessary by politic<sup>2</sup> persons having regard of the common weal to correct and amend such blindness and oversight grown into many men's minds by the inordinate love of themselves; like as physicians now be necessary in cities and towns, seeing that men commonly give themselves to such inordinate diet, whereas if men would govern themselves soberly by temperate diet, then physicians were not to be required of necessity in no common wealth nor policy. And so, I say, if every man would govern one well, nothing blinded with the love of himself, you should then see a true common weal. And thus it is true that even like as overmuch regard of particular weal destroyeth the common, so convenient and mean regard thereof maintaineth and setteth forward<sup>3</sup> the same. And in this there is no controversy.

Therefore let us now, as we began, turn again to seek out this particular weal of every private man, that we may, as I said, thereby come to our purpose. And forbecause many things there be which are required to the weal of every man, which sunderly to rehearse were overlong and nothing necessary, therefore three things general I note now to be spoken of, by the which it shall be easy to understand the rest. And first of them is health of body, which I note to be as foundation and ground of a great part of the weal of man, forasmuch as if it were so that man had never so great abundance of all riches and wordly<sup>4</sup> substance, never so great number of good and faithful friends, never so great dignity and authority in his country, yet if he lack health, all those things to him little do profit; of them he taketh little pleasure; nothing earthly to him without health can be pleasant or delectable. For if he be troubled with any grievous sickness, his life then to him is nother sweet nor pleasant; he rather then would desire to die than to live, so troublous is he both to himself and to his friends. He lieth then unprofitable to his country and can to no man do good, for he is thereby excluded also from the use and outward exercise almost

<sup>1</sup> moderate

<sup>2</sup> prudent

<sup>3</sup> promotes

<sup>4</sup> worldly

of all virtue, by the which it is communed to the profit of other. And thought it be so that man by sickness and bodily infirmity be not utterly excluded from his good purposes and virtuous intents, which God, that only looketh<sup>1</sup> into the hearts of man, no less exteemeth than the outward deeds, yet the outward deeds and exercise of virtue undoubtedly maketh it more commendable, pleasant and profitable both to himself and to the world; and, at the least, no less pleasant to God, whose goodness man doth follow, when as much as\* he can by outward deeds he communeth his virtue to the profit of other.

Wherefore it appeareth that we may justly affirm bodily health to be the ground and foundation of the weal of man, to the which also must be coupled, of necessity, strength and beauty. For if a man for the time have never so good health, yet if he have not strength to maintain the same, it will soon vanish away, leaving this ground weak and unstable; therefore strength must be joined, and beauty also. For if the body have never so good health, and convenient power and strength for the maintenance of the same, yet if it be deformed, if the parts be not proportionable, one agreeing to another according to the order of nature, they be not so acceptable nor pleasant, nor the body hath not his perfit state and virtue. Also, after the sentence of the most wise poet, in a goodly body is more commendable and pleasant and acceptable. Wherefore to the perfit state of the body and very weal thereof they must run all three jointly togidder—both health, strength and beauty, to the which all other virtues of the body, as to the principals and chief, lightly ensue. And so in these bodily virtues and natural powers standeth the first point required to the weal of every particular man, after my mind, except you have anything to say contrary to this.

#### *LUPSET*

No, sir, I will not interrupt your communication now in the mids, but when you have brought it to an end, I will then freely and plainly show my mind.

#### *POLE*

Well, then, let us go forward. The second point that man's weal resteth in is riches and convenient abundance of all wordly things meet to the maintenance of every man's state according to his degree. This

<sup>1</sup> who alone can look



is to every man manifest and plain. For in case be<sup>1</sup> that man have a body never so healthy, beautiful and strong, yet if he lack such things as necessarily be required to the maintenance of his state and degree, he shall be troubled in mind with infinite cares and miserable thoughts, because he seeth well that, without them, this bodily weal will soon vade<sup>2</sup> and vanish away. Beside this, if a man have never so great riches and abundance of treasure, yet if he lack childer and friends in whom he may delight by communing thereof, they little avail and be to him nother pleasant nor sweet: wherefore they be also required to this. And though it be so that superfluous riches and over-great abundance of these wordly goods be not required necessarily to the weal of man, but rather be the destruction thereof, yet it is manifest that the lack of necessities for nourishing and clothing of the body is the sure and certain cause of infinite miseries and manifold wretchedness; like as the convenient abundance of the same, if they be well used, is the occasion of putting in exercise many honest and virtuous affects of man's mind which else should be covered and cloaked and never come to light, but stopped and let<sup>3</sup> by penury and poverty, none otherwise than they be by bodily sickness and infirmity. Therefore we may now of this right well perceive that these exterior and wordly things in convenient abundance are not without cause, in the second place, required to the weal of every particular man, as such things without whom no man can have his most prosperous state.

The third point now remaineth, which albeit of itself it is most principal and chief, as to the which they other are to be referred, yet it is least regarded and least had in mind: that is, the natural honesty and virtue of the mind. For commonly it is seen that if a man have health and riches, he is then of all men judged happy and fortunate, lacking no wealth, though he never dream of virtue; so little count is had thereof. Howbeit, the truth is this: that like as the soul far passeth<sup>4</sup> and excelleth the body, yea, and all other wordly things, so doth they virtues of the mind, in the same order and degree, pass and excel all virtues and powers of their body and all other riches and wordly treasure, as those things which be chiefly and above all other to be exteemed and regarded. And thought it be so that man by corrupt judgment contrary exteem them, and without the other regard them not at all, yet they of their own nature are no less to be exteemed, no less to be regarded; which is to all them evident and plain which be

<sup>1</sup> in the event

<sup>2</sup> fade

<sup>3</sup> hindered

<sup>4</sup> surpasses

not yet blinded with inordinate affects, and have not lost the right judgment of things, which is the cause of all errors and mischiefs that commonly happeneth in man's life.

For what availeth to have health, beauty and strength of body to him which cannot use them to the end by nature and reason appointed? What availeth it to have riches, treasure and all wordly abundance to him which cannot by wisdom use them to his own wealth and to the profit of other? Without fail,<sup>1</sup> nothing. We see daily in common experience (we need not to seek for reason or example to prove and confirm it) that riches, authority and wordly abundance, to them which cannot use them, be plain destruction. Wherefore they of themselves be not to be exteemed, but in order to virtue. Health is not to be exteemed to this intent, that thereby with more liberty and pleasure you may have the use of all vain joys and past-times<sup>2</sup> wordly, but to this end and purpose only: that by your health of body you may more conveniently use all honest and virtuous exercise of the mind, both to the commodity of yourself and also of your friends and country. After this manner health is to be exteemed as the ground and foundation, according as I said before, of the weal and prosperous state of every man. Likewise, riches and wordly abundance is not to be regarded to this intent, that man thereby may have the use of vain and transitory pleasures, but only to this purpose, that by them he may first satisfy his own necessity, and so after succour and help them which have need and be in misery. After this manner also are they to be exteemed, ever referring them to virtue as to their end and purpose why they are to be desired, and as the chief point of the felicity, weal and prosperous state of man, without the which they other nothing avail, other be the destruction of man. For virtue only it is that sheweth us the right use and straight, both of health, strength and beauty, of riches and of all other wordly abundance; and transitory virtue it is that teacheth us all honest behaviour both toward God and man. As, by example, religiously to honour and worship God as Maker, Governor and Ruler of this world, and brotherly to love every man each other, with all right wise<sup>3</sup> and just dealing togidder.

Wherefore it cannot be doubted, if we will exteem things in right order and degree, but that virtue is the chief point of all these three. For if it were so that a man had most prosperous state of body, with health, strength and beauty, yea, and if he had also all abundance of

<sup>1</sup> unquestionably

<sup>2</sup> pastimes

<sup>3</sup> righteous

wordly goods and riches, yet if he had not also the straight and right use of the same, he shall not only take of them no profit nor fruit, but he shall also have nother pleasure nor comfort thereby, but rather hurt, damage and utter destruction. And those things which of themselves and of their own nature be good, shall be to him, for lack of good use, noyful<sup>1</sup> and ill. And likewise if a man had all the riches and power of the world, with all other prosperity thereof, yet if his mind were not rightly set with religious honour toward God, and with honest and just behaviour toward man, all that should nothing avail, nothing profit. So that this is now certain: that they two first points, without this third coupled thereto, rather hinder and hurt than aid and set forth the weal and prosperous state of every private man. But when they all be joined togidder: health, strength and beauty of body; riches and abundance of such wordly goods as be necessary to the maintenance of the state of man; virtue of the mind showing the straight use of the same; with all honest and due behaviour both toward God and man; then surely that man, whosoever he be, hath high wealth and most prosperous state and felicity, convenient to the nature of man and to his dignity. And so thus, Master Lupset, now I think you see wherein standeth the weal of every particular man; out of the which we must now seek out and ensearch the very true common weal, seeing that we have thereby thus found the best mean, and, as it appeareth to me, the rightest way thereto.

### *LUPSET*

Sir, you say well. Howbeit, because this is the ground, as me seemeth, of the rest of our communication, I will not let it pass unsure, forasmuch as it appeareth yet to me something strange. For if it be thus as you conclude, that the weal and felicity of every particular man resteth in those three points which you have declared coupled togidder, then few there be that have weal, few which be in prosperous state and felicity; the most part of mankind is excluded from it. For by this reason, if a man be fallen into any great sickness or feebleness of body, or by any injury of fortune be cast into great poverty, or if his childer or friends have any mischance, then, be he never so virtuous, honest and good, be he as perfit as ever was Sain Paul, yet he is not in weal nor in prosperous state and felicity. Which is contrary to the opinion of many great wise men, which ever have given this power to

<sup>1</sup> harmful

virtue, that it doth not only keep man from misery, but it doth also set him in high felicity; insomuch that if man were fallen into never so great sickness or poverty, or otherwise troubled by the storms of fortune in adversity, which by no wisdom he can avoid, yet so long as he patiently suffereth them and contenteth his mind with his present state, ever comforting himself with virtuous purposes, so long, I say, it cannot be denied but that he is in weal and felicity. To this, meseemeth, agreeth all the doctrine of our Master Christ, which calleth them blessed which be ever in wordly adversity, patiently suffering it for his sake; and, contrary, those which be in wordly prosperity he noteth to be miserable and wretched. Of this all Scripture is full. It needeth not to bring in any particular place for the testimony thereof, seeing that all souneth thereto.<sup>1</sup> All Christ's disciples and apostles were simple and poor, having no wordly prosperity; and yet I think you will not say that they were in misery but, contrary, that they were in high felicity. Wherefore it appeareth that your three points coupled togidder are not required of necessity to the weal of every particular man; specially considering that, by that mean, the most part of mankind should be excluded from their weal and felicity, which cannot attain to wordly riches and high philosophy.

#### POLE

Well, Master Lupset, you ever bring in some rigid knots in communication. But yet because they be somewhat to our purpose we shall not let them slip utterly unexamined. And, first you shall understand, for the ground of your doubt, that we may perceive whereof it sprang, that, according to the diversity of opinions which men have had of the nature of man, so variable sentence were taken of his felicity and weal.

Some said that man was nothing else but his reasonable soul, forasmuch as that is the thing whereby man is man, and not a brute beast, and that the body is nothing but as an instrument or vessel of the same. To whom it was convenient to say that so long man hath his high felicity and weal, as the soul was instruct<sup>2</sup> with such virtues as be according to her dignity, notwithstanding that the body were troubled with sickness, poverty and all other called wordly adversity, which nothing touched the nature of the soul. And so by their opinion virtue had ever coupled with her high felicity. Other there were, more

<sup>1</sup> proclaims it

<sup>2</sup> furnished

agreeing to the common reason of man, which said that man is not only the soul, insomuch that he is made of it but as one chief and principal part, but a certain nature which riseth of the union and conjunction of the body and soul togidder. Wherefore to them it was convenient to say that the weal of man resteth not only in the mind and the virtues thereof but in the body also, and in the prosperous state of the same; which, after mine opinion, is very truth, if we look to the most perfit state that man may have. For though it be so that virtue ever defendeth man's mind from misery, and ever hath joined thereto felicity, yet meseemeth it is not in the most perfit state, it is not in the highest degree, except thereto be coupled wordly prosperity. For this is certain: that the mind of man then more flourisheth, more rejoiceth and hath more weal when freely, without any impediment other of body or injury of fortune, it exerciseth virtue's acts and spreadeth her beams to the light and comfort of many other. Wherefore though virtuous purpose and honest intent be sufficient not only to defend a man from misery but also to conserve and keep his mind in felicity, yet, after mine opinion, forasmuch as the body is one part of man, he hath never most high felicity nor most perfit state in the highest degree except the body with the mind flourish also with his virtues and all things necessary for the maintenance of the same. And this I think to be of truth, that to the most prosperous state all these things jointly are required.

Albeit it is nothing to be doubted but that man, stabled<sup>1</sup> and confirmed with perfit and sure hope, may right well attain in the life to come to the most high felicity, though he be here troubled with all wordly adversity, whereof by folly and negligence he himself is not the cause. But if he patiently suffer it for the love of God, it is as a mean to the attaining thereof.

And likewise wordly felicity and prosperous state in this life present excludeth not man from the most high felicity of the life to come, but rather, if he use it well, it is also a mean whereby he the better may attain to the same. But forbecause wordly prosperity is so full of manifold perils and dangers, by the which a negligent mind is soon oppressed (and, as it is commonly said, hard it is to have heaven here and elsewhere), therefore few there be, and few ever have been found, which well to that end could use this wordly prosperity, insomuch that it is of many wise men judged much harder to be, well to use wordly pros-

<sup>1</sup> established

perity, than patiently to suffer and bear all wordly adversity. For the which cause I think our Master Christ chose, for the most part, his disciples of that sort which were tossed in wordly adversity, and few of them which enjoyed wordly prosperity; showing us how hard it was to use that well and couple thereto his celestial and heavenly doctrine. Therefore he saith that nother they which have their hearts fixed in the love of riches in this world nother they which have their minds drowned in the vain pleasures of this life may attain to the pleasure and felicity of the kingdom of heaven and life to come. But yet, as I said, he excludeth not them which ever bear their minds upright in the straight use of the same.

And forbecause the thing is of so great hardness and difficulty, few you shall find in all Holy Scripture which well did use this wordly prosperity. For the which purpose, as I think, many men of great wisdom and virtue fly from it, setting themselves in religious houses, there quietly to serve God and keep their minds upright with less jeopardy. Which thing surely is not amiss done of them which perceive their own imbecility<sup>1</sup> and weakness, prone and ready to be oppressed and overthrown with these common and quiet pleasures of the world, by whom they see the most part of mankind drowned and overcome. Howbeit, meseemeth they do like to fearful shipmen which for dread of storms and troublous seas keep themselves in the haven, and dare not commit themselves to the dangerous tempests of the same. But, like as he that in great tempest and troublous time governeth well his ship and conveyeth it at the last to the haven and place appointed of his course is called a good and expert mariner, and much more praiseworthy than he which for fear and dread keepeth himself in the haven still, so he which in dangerous prosperity, so full of many occasions of errors and doing amiss, governeth his mind well and keepeth it upright is justly to be called most perfit and wise man; yea, and much more deserveth and of more praise is worthy than he which for fear of the same dangers runneth into a religious house, there as in a haven quietly to rest, without so much trouble and disquietness. This I say, because you shall not think that such as live in prosperous state of this life present are thereby excluded from the felicity of the life to come, but rather, when prosperity is well used, it is a mean to set man's mind in that state whereby he shall attain higher felicity.

And so now to return to your doubt, Master Lupset. Thus I say:

<sup>1</sup> frailty

that though it be so that man, being here in this life present troubled with all wordly adversity, may undoubtedly, by patient sufferance of the same, in the life hereafter attain to the most high felicity, yet seeing that by no wordly prosperity he is excluded from the same, it may not be\* doubted but that the most properous state of man standeth in the virtues of the mind coupled with wordly prosperity. And albeit that few there be which attain thereto, yet because it is convenient to the dignity of man, and some there be which attain thereto, the thing is not utterly to be taken away nor utterly to be denied from the nature of man. Sufficient it is that no man by nature is excluded from felicity, though all men cannot attain to the highest degree thereof.

And so, if we have regard of the soul only, calling it, after the mind of Plato, the very man, whereof the body is but as a prison, and if we also have regard only of the life to come, despising, after the doctrine of Christ, the vain pleasures of this present life, then it is truth, as you thought, that man, though he be troubled with all wordly adversity, yet may right well attain to high felicity, But, contrary, if we have regard not only of the soul but also of the body, saying with Aristotle that man is the union and conjunction togidder of them both, and if we have regard also not only of the life to come but also of the life present, then it is true that I say, that felicity in the highest degree is not without wordly properity. Thus, Master Lupset, the thing diversely considered maketh betwix us to appear controversy, like as it hath done ever betwix the old philosophers, among whom the chief, as Aristotle and Plato, ever in the truth do agree, and only the manner of considering the things whereof they dispute maketh to appear betwix them controversy.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, therein I think you say truth, for diverse consideration hath ever made diverse opinion. And I am glad that both we say truth. But yet of one thing I somewhat marvel: that in the felicity of man you put diverse degrees, to some attributing more and to some less. Meseemeth felicity is the most perfit state, which admitteth no degree; for nothing can be more perfit than that which is most. Wherefore I cannot see how they which to virtue have coupled also wordly prosperity should yet have higher felicity than they which, without that, have only virtue; the which, if it be so, you then agree that virtue alone giveth man felicity.

*POLE*

You shall marvel nothing at this if you will remember what we have said before. If man be the soul only, then virtue only giveth to man high felicity; but if he be both togidder, the soul and the body, then you see it doth not so. But many other things are required thereto, by the reason whereof felicity admitteth degrees. And some have more weal, and some less; and he, as I said, hath most prosperous state and highest felicity which hath with virtue coupled all wordly prosperity — and this is, without fail, most convenient to the nature of man. So that now I think it is clear wherein standeth the felicity and weal of every particular man, by the which now, as a ground and foundation laid, we shall proceed to the rest of our communication.

*LUPSET*

Sir, let us do so now, I pray you; for therein now I doubt no more.

*POLE*

First, this is certain: that like as in every man there is a body and also a soul, in whose flourishing and prosperous state both togidder standeth the weal and felicity of man, so likewise there is in\* every commonalty, city and country, as it were, a politic body, and another thing also, resembling the soul of man, in whose flourishing both togidder resteth also the true common weal. This body is nothing else but the multitude of people, the number of citizens, in every commonalty, city or country. The thing which is resembled to the soul is civil order and politic law administered by officers and rulers. For like as the body in every man receiveth his life by the virtue of the soul, and is governed thereby, so doth the multitude of people in every country receive, as it were, civil life by laws well administered by good officers and wise rulers, by whom they be governed and kept in politic order. Wherefore the one may, as meseemeth, right well be compared to the body and the other to the soul.

*LUPSET*

This similitude liketh me well.

*POLE*

Then let us go forth with the same, and we shall find, by and by, that like as the weal of every man sunderly by himself riseth of the



three principal things before declared, so the common weal of every country, city or town seemably<sup>1</sup> riseth of other three things proportionable and like to the same, in the which all other particular things are comprehended.

And the first of them, shortly to say, standeth in health, strength and beauty of this body politic and multitude of people, wherein resteth the ground and, as it were, the foundation of the common weal. For if the country be never so rich, fertile and plentiful of all things necessary and pleasant to man's life, yet if there be of people other too few or too many, or if they be, as it were, eaten away, daily devoured and consumed by common sickness and disease, there can be no image nor shadow of any common weal, to the which first is required a convenient multitude and conveniently to be nourished there in the country. For whereas there be other too many people in the country, insomuch that the country by no diligence nor labour of man may be sufficient to nourish them and minister<sup>2</sup> them food, there without doubt can be no common weal, but ever miserable penury and wretched poverty. Like as if there be of people over-few, insomuch that the country may not be well tilled and occupied nor crafts well and diligently exercised, there shall also spring thereof great penury and scarceness<sup>3</sup> of all things necessary for man's life, and so then, civil life and true common weal can in no case be there maintained. Wherefore a convenient multitude meet for the place, in every country and commonalty, as the matter and ground of the common weal, is first to be required of necessity.

Further, also, though the number of people were never so meet to the place, city or town, yet if they flourished not in bodily health but commonly were vexed with grievous sickness and contagious disease, by the reason whereof the people should be consumed, no man could say there to be any common weal. But like as every particular man in bodily sickness (and in such specially whereof he himself is cause) lacketh the most prosperous state, so doth every country, city and town likewise affect<sup>4</sup> and disposed want much of his perfit common weal. Therefore to this multitude of people and politic body first, as ground and foundation of the rest of his weal, is required a certain health, which also by strength must be maintained. For like as the body, if it be not strong, soon by outward occasions, as by intemperance of air, labour and travail, is oppressed and overthrown and so loseth

<sup>1</sup> in a similar way

<sup>2</sup> furnish

<sup>3</sup> scarceness

<sup>4</sup> affected

his health, so doth the multitude of people in every country, city or town soon, by wars and injury of enemies, without strength lose his wealth and soon is oppressed and brought into misery and wretched captivity. Wherefore to this politic body strength is also required, without the which his health long cannot be maintained, but shortly, of necessity, it must decay.

This strength standeth in this point chiefly: so to keep and maintain every part of this body that they promptly and readily may do that thing which is required to the health of the whole. Like as we say then every man's body to be strong, when every part can execute quickly and well his office determed<sup>1</sup> by the order of nature; as the heart then is strong when he, as fountain of all natural powers, ministereth them with due order to all other, and they then be strong when they be apt to receive their power of they<sup>2</sup> heart, and can use it according to the order of nature, as, the eye to see, the year to hear, the foot to go, and hand to hold and reach; and so likewise of the rest. After such manner the strength of this politic body standeth in every part being able to do his office and duty. For this body hath his parts, which resemble also the parts of the body of man, of which the most general to our purpose be these: the heart, head, hands and feet. The heart thereof is the king, prince and ruler of the state, whethersoever it be one or many, according to the governance of the commonalty and politic state. For some be governed by a prince alone, some by a counsel of certain wise men, and some by the whole people togidder, as hereafter, when occasion requireth, more plainly I will show. But now to our purpose. He or they which have authority upon the whole state right well may be resembled to the heart. For like as all wit, reason and sense, feeling, life and all other natural power springeth out of the heart, so from the princes and rulers of the state cometh all laws, order and policy, all justice, virtue and honesty, to the rest of this politic body. To the head, with the eyes, years and other senses therein, resembled may be right well the under-officers by princes appointed, forasmuch as they should ever observe and diligently wait for the weal of the rest of this body. To the hands are resembled both craftsmen and warriors which defend the rest of the body from injury of enemies outward, and work and make things necessary to the same. To the feet, the ploughmen and tillers of the ground, because they by their labour sustain and support the rest of the body. These are the most

<sup>1</sup> determined

<sup>2</sup> this

general parts of this politic body, which may justly be resembled, after the manner declared, to those chief parts in man's body. Now, as I said, the strength of these parts altogidder is of necessity required, without the which the health of the whole cannot long be maintained.

And furthermore, yet though this politic body be healthy and strong, yet if it be not beautiful, but foul deformed, it lacketh a part of his weal and prosperous state. This beauty also standeth in the due proportion of the same parts togidder, so that one part ever be agreeable to another in form and fashion, quantity and number, as craftsmen and ploughmen in due number and proportion with other parts, according to the place, city or town. For if there be other too many or too few of one or of the other, there is in the commonalty a great deformity. And so likewise of the other parts. Wherefore the due proportion of one part to another must be observed; and therein standeth the corporal beauty chiefly of this politic body. And so in these three things coupled togidder standeth, without fail, the weal and prosperous state of the multitude in every commonalty, which, as you now see, justly may be resembled to the body of every particular man.

And yet further to proceed in this similitude. Like as the weal of the body, without riches and convenient abundance of things necessary, cannot continue nor be maintained, so this multitude which we call the politic body, without like abundance of all things necessary, cannot flourish in most perfite state. Wherefore these exterior things—friends, riches and abundance of necessities—are justly, in the second place, to be required to the maintenance of this true common weal which we now search.<sup>1</sup> For if a country be never so well replenished with people, healthy, strong and beautiful, yet if there be lack of necessities, it cannot long prosper; there will shortly grow in all kind of misery, for great poverty in any country hath ever coupled great misery. She is the mother of envy and malice, dissension and debate and many other mischiefs ensuing<sup>2</sup> the same. Wherefore without necessities no country can flourish. Yea, and if there be no lack of necessities for the sustenance of the people, but great abundance of riches and of all things necessary and pleasant for man's life, yet if the same country lack the friendship<sup>3</sup> of other joined thereto, and be environed and compassed about with enemies and foes lying ever in wait to spoil, rob and destroy the same, I cannot see how that country can long flourish in prosperity. Wherefore the friendship of other countries

<sup>1</sup> seek

<sup>2</sup> following

<sup>3</sup> friendship

is no less required than riches and abundance of other things necessary. And so in these things joined togidder resteth the second point required to the weal of every commonalty.

The third—which is chief and principal of all—is the good order and policy by good laws stablished and set, and by heads and rulers put in effect, by the which the whole body, as by reason, is governed and ruled, to the intent that this multitude of people and whole commonalty, so healthy and so wealthy, having convenient abundance of all things necessary for the maintenance thereof, may with due honour, reverence and love religiously worship God, as fountain of all goodness, Maker and Governor of all this world; every one also doing his duty to other with brotherly love, one loving one another as members and parts of one body. And that this is of the other points most chief and principal it is evident and plain; for what availeth it in any country to have a multitude never so healthy, beautiful and strong, which will follow no civil nor politic order, but every one, like wild beasts drawn by foolish fantasy, is led by the same, without reason and rule? Or what availeth in any country to have never so great riches and abundance of all things both necessary and pleasant to man's life, whereas the people, rude, without polity,<sup>1</sup> cannot use the same to their own commodity? Without fail, nothing. But even like as every man having health, abundance of riches, friends, dignity and authority, which lacketh reason and virtue to govern the same, ever abuseth them to his own destruction, so every country, city and town, though they be never so replenished with people, having all abundance of things necessary and pleasant to the maintenance of the same, yet if they lack good order and politic rule, they shall abuse all such commodities to their own destruction and ruin, and never shall attain to any common weal, which, without civil order and politic rule, can never be brought to purpose nor effect.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, I pray you here, before you proceed any further in your communication (because it is, as meseemeth, much to our purpose, and much you speak thereof), declare somewhat at large what thing it is that you so oft name and call now "policy," now "civil order," and now "politic rule," to the intent that I may the better understand the rest of your communication.

<sup>1</sup> civil order

## POLE

Master Lupset, you admonish me now right well; for both here is place now that thing to do, and I promised it a little before. Wherefore I will go about in some part to satisfy your mind and desire.

A time there was, Master Lupset, as we find in stories many and diverse, when man, without city or town, law or religion, wandered<sup>1</sup> abroad in the wild fields and woods none other wise than you see now brute beasts to do. At the which time he was led and drawn without reason and rule by frail fantasy and inordinate affects, and so long continued and many years, till at the last certain men of great wit and policy, with perfit eloquence and high philosophy, considering the excellent nature and dignity of man, and perceiving right well that he was born and of nature brought forth to higher perfection than he applied himself unto, began to persuade the rest of the people to forsake that rudeness and uncomely life, and so to follow some order and civility. And first of all to build them certain cities and towns whereto they might assemble to their common aid, succour and commodity, avoiding the danger and peril of the wild beasts, by whom they were oft before devoured and destroyed. Then, after, they devised certain ordinance and laws whereby they might be somewhat induced to follow a life convenient to their nature and dignity. These laws and ordinance, at the first beginning, also were unperfit and somewhat rude, according to the time and nature of the people; for it was not possible suddenly by exact law and policy to bring such a rude multitude to perfit civility, but ever as the people by process of time in virtue increased, so particular laws by politic men were devised. And thus in long time, by perfit eloquence and high philosophy, men were brought by little and little from the rude life in fields and woods to this civility which you now see stablished and set in all well-ruled cities and towns.

Whereas you see some governed and ruled by a king or prince, some by a common counsel of certain wise men, and some by the whole body and multitude of people; and thus it was determed, judged and appointed by wisdom and policy, that ever, according to the nature of the people, so by one of these politic manners they should be governed, ordered and ruled. For some people there be to whom the rule of a prince more agreeth than a common counsel, as, such as have been long used thereto, and be not greatly desirous of high authority, but in private life are content to live quietly. To other, contrary, is more

<sup>1</sup> wandered

convenience the rule of a common counsel, which can in no case suffer the rule of one, forasmuch as every one of them by their custom and nature are desirous of frank liberty and high authority; and so to them is better the rule of many.

Howbeit this ever is certain and sure among all sorts and nature of people, whether the state of the commonalty be governed by a prince, by certain wise men, or by the whole multitude: so long as they which have authority and rule of the state look not to their own singular<sup>1</sup> profit, nor to the private weal of any one part more than to the other, but refer all their counsel, acts and deeds to the common weal of the whole, so long, I say, the order is good and directed to good civility, and this is good policy. But when they which have rule, corrupt with ambition, envy or malice or any other like affect, look only to their own singular weal, pleasure and profit, then this good order is turned into high tyranny; then is broken the rule of all good civility; there can be no politic rule, nor civil order; the nature whereof now to perceive is, as I think, nothing hard at all. For it is a certain rule whereby the people and whole commonalty, whether they be governed by a prince or common counsel, is ever directed in virtue and honesty. So that the end of all politic rule is to induce the multitude to virtuous living, according to the dignity of the nature of man.

And so thus you have heard what thing it is that I so oft speak of and call politic rule, civil order and just policy. You have heard also how diverse it is, for it may be other under a prince, common counsel of certain, or under the whole multitude; and as to dispute which of these rules is best and to be preferred above other, meseemeth superfluous, seeing that certain it is that all be good and to nature agreeable; and though the one be more convenient to the nature of some people than the other. Wherefore best it is, leaving this question, all men to be content with their state, so long as they be not oppressed with plain<sup>2</sup> tyranny.

And so now to return to our purpose again, Master Lupset. This is without doubt certain and sure: that without such civil order and politic rule there can never in any country, city or town be seen any shadow of the true common weal. For if there be never so many people, as I have oft said, and never so great riches in any country or commonalty, yet if there be no politic rule nor civil order, of all such thing they shall take no commodity. If all the parts of the city with

<sup>1</sup> individual

<sup>2</sup> obvious

love be not knit togidder in unity as members of one body, there can be no civility. For like as in man's mind there only is quietness and high felicity, whereas in a good body all the affects with reason do agree, so in a country, city or town there is perfit civility, there is the true common weal, whereas all the parts as members of one body be knit togidder in perfit love and unity, every one doing his office and duty after such manner that whatsoever state, office or degree any man be of, the duty thereto pertaining with all diligence he busily fulfil, and without envy or malice to other accomplish the same. As, by example, they heads and rulers, both spiritual and temporal, to do their duty, providing alway that first and above all the people may be instruct with the doctrine of Christ, fed and nourished with the spiritual food of His celestial Word, ever directed thereto by all good policy, so that consequently they may also quietly labour both without outward impediment and hurt of enemies and also without inward injury among themselves, one oppressing another with wrongs and injury; but diligently to labour procuring food and things necessary for the whole politic body. And this is the office and duty, briefly<sup>1</sup> to say, of heads and rulers: after this manner diligently to see the administration of justice to the whole commonalty. For the which purpose they are thus maintained in pomp and pleasure and in quiet life, without all travail and bodily labour, as you see; in all places commonly ever maintained by the labour and travail of the poor commonalty to the intent that they, a<sup>2</sup> the other side, supported by their prudence and policy, may diligently with common quietness apply themselves to their labours and pains for the sustaining of the whole body, the which also is the chief point of their office and duty, giving also reverently to their princes and lords all humble service and meek obedience required to their state and degree.

And so thus when every part, after this manner, doth his office and duty required thereto with perfit love and amity one to another, one glad to succour and aid another as members and parts of one body, to the intent that after this wordly and civil life here paisibly<sup>3</sup> passed and virtuously spent they may at the last all togidder attain such end and felicity as by the goodness of God and ordinance of nature is determed to the excellent dignity and nature of man, then shall there be stablished and set in such a multitude of people so governed, so ruled, with such policy, that thing which we so long have sought: that is to say, a

<sup>1</sup> briefly

<sup>2</sup> on

<sup>3</sup> peaceably

very and true common weal, which is nothing else but the prosperous and most perfit state of a multitude assembled togidder in any countrv, city or town, governed virtuously in civil life, according to the nature and dignity of man. The nature whereof now, I think, you may clearly perceive, and how, semblably, it riseth of three things like and proportionable to them wherein standeth the weal of every particular man. For like as a man is then wealthy and hath high felicity when he hath health, strength and beauty of body, with sufficiency of friends and wordly goods to maintain the same, and hath also thereto joined honest behaviour both toward God and man, so a country, city or town hath his common weal and most perfit state when first the multitude of people and politic body is healthy, beautiful and strong, able to defend themselves from outward injuries, and then plenteously nourished with abundance of all things necessary and pleasant for the sustentation<sup>1</sup> and quietness of man's life, and so, thirdly, live togidder in civil order, quietly and paisibly passing their life, each one loving other as parts of one body, every part doing his duty and office required thereto.

Then, I say, there is the very and true common weal, there is the most prosperous and perfit state that in any country, city or town, by policy and wisdom, may be stablished and set. To the aid and setting forward whereof every man for his part by the law and order of nature is bounden, which hath brought forth man, as I said at the beginning of our communication, for this purpose and for this end: that after such manner he might live in civil life, ever having before his eyes this common weal, without regard of his own vain pleasures, frail fantasies<sup>2</sup> and singular profit; everything that he doth in this life referring to this end, which is the only point and mark of all counsels assembled in any commonalty to be looked unto, none otherwise than to good physicians the health of their patients, or to good mariners the haven and port to the which they sail and dress<sup>3</sup> their course. And even like as a ship then is well governed when both the master and ruler of the stern<sup>4</sup> is wise and expert and ever hath before his eyes, as a mark to look unto, the haven or place of his arrive,<sup>5</sup> and every man also in the ship doth his office and duty appointed to him, by the reason whereof, consequently, the ship arriveth at the haven purposed and intended, so a country, city or town then is well governed, ordered and ruled when the heads or rulers thereof be virtuous and wise, ever having before

<sup>1</sup> sustenance

<sup>2</sup> whims

<sup>3</sup> direct

<sup>4</sup> steering

<sup>5</sup> arrival



their eyes, as a mark to shoot at, the wealth of their subjects, every one of them also doing their office and duty to them appointed and determined. And so consequently the whole politic body attaineth the very and true common weal, which now I think, Master Lupset, somewhat you see, both what it is and wherein it standeth.

For like as the health of man's body standeth not in the health of one particular part thereof but in the good and natural affect<sup>1</sup> and disposition of every part coupled to other, so this true common weal in this politic body standeth not in the weal and prosperous state of any particular part separate from other, but in every part coupled togidder, unite<sup>2</sup> and knit as members of one body by love, as by the common band of all politic order and good civility. And like as the health of the body determineth no particular complexion, but in every one of the four by physicians determined, as in sanguine, melancholic, phlegmatic and choleric, may be found perfit, so this common weal determineth to it no particular state (which by politic men have been devised and reduced to four)—nother the rule of a prince, nother of a certain number of wise men, nother yet of the whole multitude and body of the people, but in every one of these it may be found perfit and stable. Howbeit, as of physicians the sanguine complexion is judged of other chief and best for the maintenance of health of the body, so the state of a prince, whereas he is chosen by free election most worthy to rule, is among the other chief and principal judged of wise men for the maintenance and long continuance of this common weal and politic rule in any commonalty. Wherefore it determineth no certain state, so that it can be in none other; but in every one it may be found and surely grounded, so long as every part is kept in his order with prosperity.

And as to see and plainly to judge when this common weal most flourisheth, it is nothing hard, but easy to perceive. For when all these parts thus coupled togidder exercise with diligence their office and duty, as, the ploughmen and labourers of the ground diligently till the same, for the getting of food and necessary sustenance to the rest of the body, and craftsmen work all things meet for maintenance of the same, yea, and they heads and rulers by just policy maintain the state stablished in the country, ever looking to the profit of they whole body, then that common weal must needs flourish; then that country must needs be in the most prosperous state. For there you shall see riches and convenient abundance of all things necessary; there you shall see

<sup>1</sup> state

<sup>2</sup> united

cities and towns so garnished with people that it shall be necessary in places desert to build mo cities, castles and towns for the minishing of such a multitude, which is a sure argument and certain token of the flourishing of this politic body. So that of this you may be sure: where-soever you see any country well garnished and set with cities and towns, well replenished with people having all things necessary and pleasant to man, living togidder in civil life according to the excellent dignity of the nature of man, every part of this body agreeing to other, doing his office and duty appointed thereto, there, I say, you may be sure is set a very and true common weal; there it flourisheth as much as the nature of man will suffer. And thus now, Master Lupset, shortly to conclude, after my mind you have heard rudely described what is the thing that I call the common weal and just policy, wherein it standeth, and when it most flourisheth.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, though you have therein satisfied my mind right well, and clearly the matter opened, yet you have made me therewith somewhat sorry, yea, and to lament with myself. For I have ever thought hitherto that the state of Christendom hath had in it a very true common weal and just policy, and that it hath been most perfit and flourishing that might be convenient to the nature of man, seeing that it was set and stablished by such an author as you know it was. But now me seemeth of your communication it wanteth many things required to the most perfit state, after your description, and most specially of those which we call exterior things, wherein we put wordly prosperity, of the which there is greater want in the state of Christ's church than hath been before it in other kind of policy, yea, and is now in other states of politic people. Wherefore by this mean it appeareth manifestly that the common weal and the flourishing of the same hangeth much of fortune, as touching the wordly prosperity, whereof she hath great dominion and hath ever been noted to be as lady and mistress.<sup>1</sup>

#### *POLE*

Well, Master Lupset, as to this I shall shortly show you my sentence and mind. First, this is certain: though the state of Christendom be not most perfit and most flourishing that might be, forasmuch as it lacketh, as you say truly, much wordly prosperity, yet it is of all other

<sup>1</sup> mistress

that ever hath been yet stablished among men (or ever, I think, shall be) most perfit and sure and most convenient to the nature of man, forasmuch as the rule and order thereof tendeth to everlasting life and felicity, and forbecause the pleasures of this life and wordly prosperity so blinded man before Christ commonly, that he nothing regarded the life to come. Therefore, to pluck this blindness out of man's mind, the Author and Stablisher of our Christian policy taught us by contempt of this vain prosperity to take the strait way to everlasting felicity. For seeing it was so that man could not as a passenger<sup>1</sup> only use to the right purpose this prosperity, but, drowned therewith, looked no further than this policy, necessary it was to bring man to the contempt of the same. To this the heavenly wisdom, and no wordly policy, hath brought the state of Christendom; the which passeth all other none otherwise than doth that man which, garnished with all virtue, in poverty and sickness and all wordly adversity, far passeth him that by health, honour and riches is drowned in wordly prosperity.

And yet I will not say it is most perfit state that may be. For even like as the wealth of every particular man sunderly, by himself, if he lack health or necessities, though he be most virtuous, is not most perfit, as you have heard before, so the state of any country, city or town is not most perfit that may be, if there be lack of wordly prosperity, which, as we have at large before declared, if it be well used, excludeth no country from most perfit policy, order and rule, but rather much setteth forward the same.

And as touching that you said (that the common weal should by this mean hang much of fortune), this, I think, be truth, speaking of the most perfit state which may be, to the which of necessity is required this wordly prosperity. To this agree both Aristotle and Theophrast, they great and ancient philosophers, which, though they were of the Stoic sect, therefore reproved.<sup>2</sup> Yet meseemeth their opinion, if it be well pondered, agreeth well to nature and to man's reason. For truly this is sure: that fortune, or else what other name soever you will give to the blind and uncertain causes which be not in man's power, that same, I say, hath great dominion and rule in all outward things and wordly, both in the private and public state of every man. For who is he that doth not daily in experience see how riches and health, authority and dignity, yea, and all other called wordly prosperity, by fortune and chance be now minished, now

<sup>1</sup> passer-through

<sup>2</sup> censured the Stoics for that defect

increased; now set aloft, now trodden underfoot; now flourishing, now in decay, none otherwise than the troublous and tempestuous sea which by every wind is tossed and tumbled from his stable quietness and tranquillity. And yet I will not say that the common weal of any country, city or town, or felicity of any particular man so hangeth upon fortune that without her aid and succour they cannot stand, for that were to virtue great injury, which to every man giveth felicity, and to every country his true common weal and just policy.

Howbeit, except to this virtue be also coupled wordly prosperity, whereby it may be put in use to the profit of other, meseemeth (as I oft have said before) it setteth not man in his most perfit state that he may be in, nor leaveth not<sup>1</sup> in the country, city or town the highest weal that may come thereto and be stablished therein by prudent policy. For who\* doubteth of this, but that such a man hath more perfit state which to virtue hath joined all wordly prosperity than he which hath equal virtue, but oppressed with all wordly adversity, by the reason whereof he cannot put in effect his virtuous purpose and honest intent? And so likewise to no man it is doubt<sup>2</sup> but that country, city or town which is replenished with people, healthy and strong, having abundance of riches and all things necessary, well governed and ruled with politic order, is in higher and more perfit state than that country where is great poverty and lack of all things necessary, though there be beside never so good order and perfit civility.

For this is truth, Master Lupset, as meseemeth, that I have oft said: this wordly prosperity, if it be well used, something increaseth man's felicity; nor nothing it is to be marvelled that perfit felicity and highest common weal hang something of fortune and chance, forasmuch as they have dominion and rule in certain things which of necessity are required to them in the perfittest degree. For everything as it is more perfit in his nature, so it requireth ever mo things to his perfection. This is so evident and plain both in all things brought forth of nature and by craft made that it needeth no proof; it needeth no long declaration. Forasmuch as God Himself, because He is of all thing most perfit, therefore He requireth to Him all perfection. Wherefore, nother to man's felicity in the most perfit degree, nor to the common weal of any country in the most perfit state and policy, it is no imperfection to hang of many outward and exterior things which oft be altered by fortune and chance. And thus, Master Lupset, after

<sup>1</sup> allows to remain

<sup>2</sup> no one doubts

my mind, it is no inconvenience that man's felicity by the favour of fortune should be set forward unto the highest degree.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, it may be well true, as you do now say and by good reason conclude; but yet meseemeth it souneth very ill—it jarreth in mine years to give such power to blind fortune in man's felicity.

#### *POLE*

Nay, Master Lupset, you may not take it thus: that fortune hath power to cast man out of his felicity; no more than they clouds have power of the sun, which though oft-times they let his radiant beams, yet they cast him not out of his perfection. But ever, like as the clouds let the shining and spreading of the sunbeams down to the earth to the comfort of all lively creatures, so doth fortune oft-times let virtue, and trouble man's felicity, stopping it from exercise and use to the common profit of other, and commodity. But so long as it happeneth not by man's negligence, but by outward occasion, there is in him no fault nor blame. Wherefore though man be here oppressed with injuries of fortune and all wordly adversity, yet, if his mind be stabled and set with virtuous purpose and honest intent, God (which looketh only and knoweth the heart) shall therefore hereafter in another life give him everlasting felicity and joy; by the hope whereof he is also in this life present so comforted and fed that he can by no manner fall into wretchedness and misery. Howbeit the most high felicity, after mine opinion, he hath not, except thereto be joined wordly prosperity.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, yet this meseemeth is somewhat strange, considering your similitude and all that you spake of before—for if they injuries of fortune to virtue and felicity be but as clouds to the sun, how should they let man from his highest perfection? Meseemeth, no more than the clouds let the sun from his perfection, which I think no man will say. Truth it is that they, peradventure, sometime let the perfection of things beneath, but of the sun nothing at all.

#### *POLE*

Master Lupset, I shall tell you, if the perfection of the sun and exercise thereof were let by clouds, as virtue is and the operation

thereof, by injuries of fortune, I would then agree to you in this matter. But in that thing they be not all like, for the sun communeth his perfection at all times to these inferior things according to their nature and capacity, as well in clouds as in serenity. But virtue, undoubtedly, let by fortune and wordly adversity, cannot commune her acts and deeds to the profit of other. Wherefore in this matter there is no more to be doubted, but sure it is that fortune's favour somewhat aideth and setteth forward the highest point of felicity; and so, in like wise, the common weal of every country, city or town, which without riches and other wordly prosperity can never flourish in the highest degree.

#### LUPSET

Well, Master Pole, this yet comforteth me marvellous much, that you say and plainly confess that both every man particular and also the whole commonalty, though it be here oppressed with all wordly adversity, yet they may attain to the highest felicity in the life to come.

#### POLE

Of that there is no doubt, and, peradventure, the rather because it is so hard and so full of peril and danger to use this wordly prosperity. For in this I have contrary opinion to the common sort of men which judge it more hard uprightly to bear adversity than well to use prosperity. But I think they consider not they manifold occasions of ruin and falling from the trade of virtue, which they have daily and hourly before their eyes, which be enhanced<sup>1</sup> in wordly prosperity; they look only to the pain and trouble wherewith they be oppressed withal which be in adversity, and such things, because they are but few in number, may other, as they judge, much more easily be borne, or more soon avoided.

But howsoever it be we will not now dispute, but turn to our purpose, taking this as sure, because we seek the most perfit state in any country, and true common weal. We may not only have regard of the life to come but also of this here present, procuring evermore such things as pertain to the maintenance thereof with all good civility, to the intent that we, here well using this wordly prosperity, may at the last attain to such end and perfection as, by the providence of God, is ordained to the excellent nature and dignity of man.

And so now, to make short, Master Lupset, you have heard what

<sup>1</sup> puffed up

is the very and true common weal in any country, city or town, and what is the most perfit state thereof—the which, as I said at the beginning, if all men knew and pondered right well, they would not so much regard the private weal as they do; they would not so study their own destruction. For this is sure, as now you plainly see and clearly perceive, that overmuch regard of private weal, pleasure and profit is the manifest destruction of all good, public and just common policy. For even like as mariners when they be intent and given to their vain pastime and singular pleasure, having no regard to the course of their ship, oft-times be other by sudden tempest overwhelmed and drowned in the sea, or by negligence run upon some rock, to the whole destruction both of themselves and of all other carried in their ship, so in a country, city or town where every man regardeth only his own profit, wealth and pleasure, without respect of the profit of the whole, they shortly fall in decay, ruin and destruction; and so at the last perceiving their own folly, then, when it is too late, they begin to lament. Wherefore, undoubtedly, this is a certain and sure truth: that men commonly are so blinded with singular profit and vain pleasure that they never consider this common weal. Though they speak of it never so much, they never conceive how their own destruction is secretly coupled to their own acts and deeds; for if they did, surely they would not suffer themselves so to err and so to run to<sup>e</sup> their own ruin. For this is a sure ground, that no man, witting and willing, will hurt himself nor desire his own destruction. But ever by the colour of good and shadow of truth man is blinded, deceived and into ignorance led, and so, by corrupt judgment, esteemeth ill to be good and good to be ill; which is, as you have heard before, at large, the fountain and spring of all error and vice, and of all disorder in man's life, both private and public; the which thing, when it overrunneth whole nations and people, utterly destroyeth all civil life and politic rule. For there can reign no good policy where the judgment of the people is corrupt by false opinion, whereby they judge that every man doth well when he only regardeth his own pleasure and profit, without any respect had of any other.

But (as I have said, and oft do rehearse) if men knew that when they look to the common profit, that they therewith also regard their own singular and private, surely they would not so negligently look thereunto as it is commonly seen they now do. But even as the common weal is in every man's mouth, so also should it be fixed in their hearts;

it should be the end of all their cogitations, counsels and cares. For even as good mariners when they, by their craft and diligence, bring their ship save<sup>1</sup> out of tempests into the sure port and haven, do not only save other being in their ship but themselves also, so citizens in any country, city or town when they, by prudent policy, maintain civil order and good rule, ever setting forward the very and true common weal, do not only save other which be under the same governance and state but also themselves. For, as you see and have heard by many examples, in diverse countries, cities and towns, when by sedition and negligence of rulers the civil order and politic rule of the whole body is once broken and turned up so down,<sup>2</sup> therewith by and by perissheth the private weal of every man; no-one can long enjoy pleasure or quietness, where the whole is disturbed and put out of order. Therefore this is as evident as the shining of the sun: that in the regard ever of the true and common weal is contained also the regard of the private.

Wherefore now, Master Lupset, seeing that we have somewhat declared what is the very true common weal, wherein it standeth, and when it most flourisheth, let us go forth to the rest of our communication purposed at the beginning, as you think best.

#### LUPSET

Yes, Sir, I think it now very good, for you have in the first satisfied me right well. And I doubt nothing but if men would well all that you have said consider and ponder, there would be more regard of the common weal here in our country than there is indeed. For meseemeth plainly, with us every man under the pretence and\* colour of the common weal regardeth the singular, by the reason whereof our country lieth rude, nothing brought to such civility as it might be by good policy. Wherefore I fear me sore lest it be almost impossible to stable and set such a common weal among us here in England as you have before described—all things be here so far out of order, so far out of form.

#### POLE

Well, Master Lupset, by likelihood you see much amiss that you be in so great desperation before we begin. Howbeit I see no cause why you should so be, for nother the place here of our country nor people themselves be so rude of nature but they may be brought well to

<sup>1</sup> safe

<sup>2</sup> upside down



all good civility. Truth it is that you say; as yet they are far from that order and such state as we have described. For many and great fauts there be reigning among us here in our country and commonalty, which now remain in the second place to be sought and tried out. Wherein now also, Master Lupset, you must put to your diligence, that we may togidder better spy out the common fauts and misorders therein, that so at the last we may, peradventure, find some mean to restore our country to her common weal again, and as near as may be reforming it to the example that we have prescribed before, which shall be to us ever as a rule to examine the rest of our communication by.

*LUPSET*

Sir, to this good purpose that you now have conceived I shall help and set forward the best that I can. But I pray you now, because it is late, and this matter is large, let us defer it till tomorrow, and the mean time we may devise with ourselves something thereof.

*POLE*

Master Lupset, you say right well, and so let it be.

## CHAPTER 3

### *POLE*

Now, after that we have somewhat declared what is a very common weal in every country, convenient to the nature of man living in civil life and politic order, it shall be expedient for us, looking thereto ever as to our mark to shoot at, and to the end of all counsels and parliaments in any commonalty assembled togidder here in this our own country, to seek out with diligence and by reason to try such fauts and misorders as appear to let the setting forth of this common weal, and be occasions<sup>1</sup> that that it cannot prosper and flourish, but rather fall into ruin and decay. For like as to physicians little it availeth to know the body, complexion thereof, and most perfit state, except they also can discern and judge all kind of sickness and diseases which commonly destroy the same, so to us now this universal and scholastical consideration of a very and true common weal little shall profit and little shall avail, except we also truly search out all common fauts and general misorders, which, as sickness and diseases, be manifest impediments and utterly repugn to<sup>2</sup> the maintenance of the same. Let us therefore now, Master Lupset, to this purpose now in the second place with all diligence earnestly apply our minds.

### *LUPSET*

Sir, you say well, for diligence in all thing doth much good. Howbeit in this matter meseemeth it is not so greatly to be required, for, as it is commonly said, much easier it is to spy two fauts than amend one. Specially to them which have heard the description of a common weal after the manner before showed it is not hard to see the misorders here in our country, nor to spy the great decay of such a common weal which you have so manifestly described: it is so open to every man's eye:

For who can be so blind or obstinate to deny the great decay, fauts and misorders here of our common weal, other when he looketh upon our cities, castles and towns of late days ruinate<sup>3</sup> and fallen down, with such poor inhabitants<sup>4</sup> dwelling therein, or when he looketh upon the ground, so rude and so waste, which by diligence of people hath been before time occupied and tilled, and might be yet again brought to

<sup>1</sup> causes

<sup>2</sup> are inconsistent with

<sup>3</sup> ruinous

<sup>4</sup> inhabitants

some better profit and use, or yet, above all, when he looketh unto the manners of our people and order of living, which is as far distant from good and perfit civility as good from ill, and vice from virtue and all honesty? This is as clear as the light of the day, and, as meseemeth, needeth therefore of no long process for the declaring thereof, nor yet much diligence to the ensearching of the same.

*POLE*

Well, Master Lupset, this matter is not all on't so clear as you make it, nor requireth not so little diligence as you seem to make it. For we may, peradventure, other a the one side too straitly judge or narrowly examine the whole matter, laying<sup>1</sup> there fault whereas none is, calling that disorder and ill governance which is indeed good and perfit policy, or else of the other side, blinded with affection (as commonly men be with the manners of their country), contrary, call that plain good and gentle civility which indeed is rudeness and rusticity. Wherefore of this we must chiefly beware and diligently take heed, lest thereby we deceive ourself.

*LUPSET*

Sir, as for this matter, I trust we shall right well avoid; for I promise you that for my part I will be loth in our communication to be so unjust to our own country, to admit any such things for faults and misorders which indeed be none at all. For the eschewing of this I will be diligent and suffer few things to pass unexamined wherever shall appear any doubt unto me.

*POLE*

I pray you so to do, and to put me also in remembrance of such faults as you have noted yourself and by long time observed here in our country, which you shall peradventure see me over-run and by negligence let pass.

*LUPSET*

Sir, in this behalf, I assure you, I will be as diligent as I can.

*POLE*

Well then, let us now go forward in the matter, wherein, first, you

<sup>1</sup> alleging

shall understand that I will not speak of every particular fault and disorder in every man's life here in our country, for that were a matter infinite, and nothing meet for our purpose intended; but I will speak only of the general faults and misorders and universal decays of this common weal, which by common counsel and good policy may be redressed, reformed and brought to good civility. And first, this process using, I will speak of such as I shall find in the politic body of this our commonalty and ream;<sup>1</sup> second, I will seek out and ensearch such as shall appear to me in things necessary and commodious for the maintenance of the same body; thirdly, I shall touch such faults and misorders as I shall find in the politic order, rule and governance of this body, grown in by abuse and lack of good policy. This shall be the order and process of our communication this day to be had.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, this liketh me well; and after this manner now prescribed I pray you go forward.

#### *POLE*

I am well content. And first, this is certain: that in this politic body there is a certain sklenderness, delibility and weakness thereof, whereby it is let to prosper and flourish in his most perfit state; the which I call (and note to be grounded in) the lack of people and scarceness of men. For like as man's body then doth not flourish, then doth not increase, when it is sklender, feeble and weak, but by lack of flesh falleth into sickness and debility, so every country, city or town then doth not flourish, then doth not prosper, when there is lack of people and scaceness of men, by the reason whereof it falleth into ruin and decay, slipping from all good civility; the experience whereof we see in late days now in our country, the which chiefly I attribute to the lack of inhabitans. And to this, as me seemeth, by many arguments we may be induced; as, first, if you look to the cities and towns throughout this ream, you shall find that in time past they have been much better inhabited and much more replenished with people than they be now. For many houses there you shall see plain ruinate and decayed, and many yet standing without any tenants and inhabitants of the same. Whereby plainly is perceived, after mine opinion, the great lack of

<sup>1</sup> realm

people and scarceness of men. And further, if you look to the villages of the country throughout this land, of them you shall find no small number utterly decayed; and there, whereas beforetime hath been nourished much good and Christian people, now you shall find nothing maintained but wild and brute beasts; and there, where hath been many houses and churches, to the honour of God, now you shall find nothing but sheepcotes and stables, to the ruin of man. And this is not in one place or two, but generally throughout this ream. Wherefore it is not to be doubted but that this decay both of cities and towns and also of villages in the whole country declareth plainly a lack of people and scarceness of men.

Beside this, the decay of crafts in cities and towns (which we see manifestly in every place) sheweth also, as me seemeth, a plain lack of people. Moreover, the ground which lieth in this ream untilled and brought to no profit nor use of man, but lieth as barren, or to the nourishing of wild beasts, me thinketh could not lie long after such manner if there were not lack of people and scarceness of men. For if it were so replenished with people as other countries be, the waste grounds (as heaths, forests, parks and olds<sup>1</sup>) should not lie so rude and untilled as they be, but should be brought to some profit and use, according to the nature of the ground, which, without fail, by diligence and labour of man might well be brought to tillage and use. For the ground is not of itself, as many men think, by nature so barren, but that if it were diligently laboured it would bring forth fruit for the nourishing of man; which is by experience in many places proved here of late days, whereas ground judged to be barren and rude is by diligent men brought to tillage and fruit. Therefore, that we have so much waste ground here in our country, it is not to be attribute to the nature of the earth, after my mind, but only to the lack of people and scarceness of men, which as well by the ruin of cities and towns as by decay of faculties, learning and crafts, may plainly be perceived. Wherefore I think we may surely affirm this fault and sickness plainly to reign in our politic body.

#### *L U P S E T*

Sir, as touching this matter, I pray you suffer me to say my mind therein, for your arguments do not sufficiently persuade me.

<sup>1</sup> plains

## POLE

Marry, that was agreed at the beginning for the better examination of every thing; therefore say on.

## LUPSET

Sir, meseemeth this ruin of cities and towns, this decay of crafts in every place, this rudeness and barrenness of the ground, argueth nothing the scarceness of people but rather the negligent idleness of the same. For if a country were never so populous and replenished with people, yet if they were ever negligent and idle in the same, never intending to<sup>1</sup> profitable exercise, there should be no less decay of arts and crafts, with no less ruin of cities and towns than there is now here with us, as you say. Wherefore it appeareth plainly to me that this is no sure proof nor argument to your purpose, specially seeing that, contrary, meseemeth we have here in our country rather too many people than too few, insomuch that vittle and nourishment sufficient for them can scant here be found, but for lack thereof many perish and die, or at the least, live very wretchedly. Wherefore like as we say commonly a pasture is overlaid<sup>2</sup> with cattle when therein be mo than may be conveniently nourished and fed, so in a country, city or town there is of people too great multitude when there is of vittle over-little for the necessary sustenance and maintaining of the same. And so I cannot see why we should lay any great fault in the lack of people here in our country, but rather such faults as you find attribute to the negligence of the same.

## POLE

Well, Master Lupset, you say well; I perceive by you that you will not let the matters pass utterly unexamined. Howbeit, if you compare our country now other with itself in such state as it hath been in time past, other else with other countries which be by nature no more plentiful than this, and yet nourish much more people than doth ours, I cannot see but you must needs confess a lack of people here in our country. For this is no doubt: in time past many mo have been nourished therein, and the country hath been more populous than it is now. And this is less doubt:<sup>3</sup> that other countries in like space or less doth sustain much more people than doth this of<sup>4</sup> ours; which is easy

<sup>1</sup> applying themselves

<sup>2</sup> overstocked

<sup>3</sup> still more certain

to be perceived by the multitude of cities, castles and towns which be well inhabited and replenished with people in far greater number than our country is, as you may see both in France, Flanders, Almain<sup>1</sup> and Italy. Therefore it cannot be denied but here is much lack of people and scarceness of men.

And yet truth this is also that you say, that if we had never so many people here in our country, if they same lived over-idle and negligent, we should have no less decay of cities and towns than we have now. But, Master Lupset, though it be so that we have here in our country much idle people and, as I think, in no country of the world such a multitude, yet they be not so idle that we must of necessity attribute both the ruin of cities and towns and all the decay of arts and crafts only to the idleness and negligence of the people. Truth it is, that if our people were all diligent and well occupied with honest exercise our country should, without fail, stand in better case than it doth, as we shall at large hereafter in his place open and declare. And yet this is truth also, that nother of idle nor yet of well-occupied we have such a number as is convenient to the nature of the place. This is certain and sure: that if our country were well occupied and tilled it would nourish sufficiently many mo people than it doth now.

And as touching the scarceness of vittle which you alleged, that nothing proveth over-great number of people, but rather the great negligence of these which we have, as I shall plainly show you hereafter when we shall search out the cause and ground of all such penury and scarceness of vittle and sustenance for the people here in our country lately grown in.

Let us therefore take this as a certain and plain truth: that here in our country there is a lack of people: and confess this disease to be in our politic body, which may well, as me seemeth, be compared to a consumption or great sklenderness of man's body. For like as in a consumption, when the body is brought to a great sklenderness there is lack of power and strength to maintain the health of the same, so in a country, city or town, where there is lack of people there wanteth power to maintain the flourishing state of the politic body, and so it falleth into manifest decay, and by little and little worneth<sup>2</sup> away—as we may see in all countries which have been replenished with people and well inhabited in old time, as Egypt, Asia and Greece, which, destroyed by wars, now for lack of people be desolate and desert, fallen

<sup>1</sup> Germany

<sup>2</sup> wastes

into ruin and common decay. So that this lack of people not without cause may well be called the first fruit and ground of the ruin of all common weals, and, as I have said, cannot be denied here from ours, if we look to the nature of the place and to the ancient state here of the same.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, indeed, as you say, when I look to the cities and towns and villages in the country, I cannot deny but there hath been more people here in our country than there is now. Wherefore without further cavillation, agreeing upon this, let us go forward.

#### *POLE*

Well then, let us consider and behold how that beside this lack of people there is also in this politic body another disease and sickness more grievous than this, and that is this, shortly to say. A great part of these people which we have here in our country is other idle or ill-occupied, and a small number of them exerciseth themselves in doing their office and duty pertaining to the maintenance of the common weal; by the reason whereof this body is replenished and over-fulfilled<sup>1</sup> with many ill humours, which I call idle and unprofitable persons, of whom you shall find a great number if you will a little consider all states, orders and degrees here in our country. First, look what an idle rout our noblemen keep and nourish in their houses, which do nothing else but carry dishes to the table and eat them when they have done; and after, giving themselves to hunting, hawking, dicing, carding, and all other idle pastimes and vain, as though they were born to nothing else at all. Look to our bishops and prelates of the ream, whether they follow not the same trade in nourishing such an idle sort, spending their possessions and goods which were to them given to be distribute among them which were oppressed with poverty and necessity. Look, furthermore, to priests, monks, freres and chanons,<sup>2</sup> with all their adherents and idle train, and you shall find also among them no small number idle and unprofitable, which be nothing but burdens to the earth; insomuch that if you after this manner examine the multitude in every order and degree you shall find, as I think, the third part of our people living in idleness, as persons to the common weal utterly unprofitable; and to all good civility, much like unto the drone bees in a hive, which do

<sup>1</sup> filled too full

<sup>2</sup> friars and canons



nothing else but consume and devour all such thing as the busy and good bee with diligence and labour gaddereth together.

#### *LUPSET*

Master Pole, meseemeth you examine this matter somewhat too shortly, as though you would have all men to labour, to go to the plough, and exercise some craft: which is not necessary. For our mother the ground is so plenteous and bountiful, by the goodness of God and of nature given to her, that with little labour and tillage she will sufficiently nourish mankind none otherwise than she doth all beasts, fishes and fowls which are bred and brought up upon her, to whom we see she ministereth food with little labour or none, but of her own friendly benignity. Wherefore if a few of our people busy themselves and labour therein, it is sufficient; the rest may live in triumph, at liberty and ease, free from all bodily labour and pain.

#### *POLE*

This is spoken, Master Lupset, even as though you judged man to be born for to live in idleness and pleasure, all thing referring and applying thereto. But, Sir, it is nothing so; but, contrary, he is born to labour and travail (after the opinion of the wise and ancient antiquity) none otherwise than a bird to fly, and not to live (as Homer saith some do) as an unprofitable weight and burden of the earth. For man is born to be as a governor, ruler and diligent tiller and inhabitant of this earth, as, some by labour of body to procure things necessary for the maintenance of man's life, some by wisdom and policy to keep the rest of the multitude in good order and civility. So that none be born to this idleness and vanity, to the which the most part of our people is much given and bent—but all to exercise themselves in some fashion of life convenient to the dignity and nature of man. Wherefore though it be so that it is nothing necessary all to be labourers and tillers of the ground, but some to be priests and ministers of God's Word, some to be gentlemen to the governance of the rest, and some servants to the same, yet this is certain, that over-great number of them, without due proportion to the other parts of the body, is superfluous in any commonalty. It is not to be doubted but that here in our country of those sorts be over-many, and specially of them which we call serving-men, which live in service to gentlemen, lords and other of the nobility. If you

look throughout the world, as I think, you shall not find in any one country proportionable to ours like number of that sort.

#### LUPSET

Marry, sir, that is truth; wherein, meseemeth, you praise our country very much, for in them standeth the royalty of the realm. If the yeomanry of England were not, in time of war we should be in shroud<sup>1</sup> case; for in them standeth the chief defence of England.

#### POLE

O, Master Lupset, you take the matter amiss. In them standeth the beggary of England. By them is nourished the common theft therein, as hereafter at large I shall declare. Howbeit, if they were exercised in feats of arms to the defence of the ream in time of war they might yet be much better suffered. But you see how little they be exercised therein, insomuch that in time of war it is necessary for our ploughmen and labourers of the country to take weapon in hand, or else we were not like long to enjoy England—so little trust is to be put in their feats and deeds.

Wherefore doubt you no more but of them, like as of other that I have spoke of before (as of priests, freres, monks and other called religious), we have over-many, which altogidder make our politic body unwieldy and heavy, and, as it were, to be grieved with gross humours, insomuch that this disease therein may well be compared to a dropsy in man's body. For like as in a dropsy the body is unwieldy, unlusty<sup>2</sup> and slow, nothing quick to move, nother apt nor meet to any manner of exercise, but, sollen<sup>3</sup> with ill humours, lieth idle and unprofitable to all outward labour, so is a commonalty replenished with negligent and idle people, unlusty and unwieldy, nothing quick in the exercise of arts and crafts whereby her wealth should be maintained and supported, but, sollen with such ill humours, boileth out<sup>4</sup> with all vice, mischief and misery, the which out of idleness (as out of a fountain) issueth and springeth. This is the mother of many other sickness and grievous diseases in our politic body, and the greatest destruction of the common weal therein that may be devised.

#### LUPSET

Well, sir, this is so manifest that it may not be denied. Wherefore

<sup>1</sup> evil

<sup>2</sup> slothful

<sup>3</sup> swollen

<sup>4</sup> over

let us proceed without delay to the seeking of other, after your device. Howbeit, this disease seemeth to repugn to the other, for one sheweth too few, and the other too many.†

### POLE

Nay, not; but shortly, one sheweth too few of well-occupied, and the other too many idle.†

There is another disease, Master Lupset, also, which is not much less grievous than this, which resteth in them whom I called ill-occupied. I mean not those which be occupied in vice, for of that sort chiefly be they which I noted to be idle before. But all such I call ill-occupied which busy themselves in making and procuring things for the vain pastime and pleasure of other, as all such do which occupy themselves in the new devices of guarding<sup>1</sup> and jagg<sup>2</sup> of men's apparel, with all thing pertaining thereto, and all such which make and procure manifold and diverse new kinds of meats and drinks, and ever be occupied in curious device of new-fangled things concerning the vain pleasure only of the body; with all such as be called singing men, curious descanters<sup>3</sup> and devisers of new songs which tend only to vanity, and all such marchands which carry out<sup>4</sup> things necessary to the use of our people, and bring in again vain trifles and conceits, only for the foolish pastime and pleasure of man. All such, I say, and of this sort many other I note as persons ill-occupied and to the common weal unprofitable.

### LUPSET

Sir, in this matter also meseemeth you are a judge of too much severity, for you would have nothing suffered in a commonalty but that only which is necessary, and so by this mean take all pleasure from man, and all ornaments from every common weal and city. For such men as you now call ill-occupied persons, as me seemeth, are occupied in the procuring thereof—that is to say, of such things as pertaineth to the ornaments of the common weal in every country.

### POLE

Master Lupset, you take me amiss, for I would not bring man to live with such thing only which is necessary, taking away all pleasure

<sup>1</sup> making ornamental borders

<sup>2</sup> slashing

<sup>3</sup> singers or players of descants

<sup>4</sup> merchants who export

and very ornaments from the common weal admitted by good policy, but in banishing such ill-occupied persons as I spake of before. I would banish also and utterly cast out all vain pleasure and vain ornaments by corrupt judgment commonly approved, bringing in their place very true pleasure of man and they true ornaments of the very common weal whereof we spake before, which standeth nother in the gay apparel of the citizens, nother yet in delicate meats and drinks nourishing the same, nor in none other thing (in one word to say) pertaining to the vain pleasure of the body. But very and true pleasure resteth only in the health of the body and virtues of the mind, and they true ornaments of the common weal are founded in the same, as hereafter more plainly it shall appear. Wherefore I think justly I may call all such ill-occupied persons as be procurers only of the vain pleasure of man, which nothing pertaineth to the dignity of his nature; of the which sort, surely, many we have here in our country by whom (we may see) this politic body is also grievously diseased, and much like to man's body troubled as it were with a palsy. For like as in a palsy some parts be ever moving and shaking, and like as they were busy and occupied therewith, but to no profit nor pleasure of the body, so in our commonalty certain parts there be which ever be moving and stirring and alway occupied, but ever about such purpose and matter as bringeth nother profit nor true pleasure to the politic body. Wherefore meseemeth, Master Lupset, it cannot be denied but that this is another grievous disease.

#### *LUPSET*

Truth it is, without fail, for many such there be here in our country. Let us therefore, after the course begun, go forward to another.

#### *POLE*

Sir, yet there is another disease remaining behind which greatly troubleth the state of the whole body, the which (though I somewhat stand in doubt whether I may well call it a disease of the body or no, yet because, as physicians say, the body and mind are so knit togidder by nature that all sickness and disease be common to them both, I will not now stand to reason much herein, but boldly call it a bodily disease) —and, briefly to say, this it is: they parts of this body agree not togidder; the head agreeth not to the feet, nor feet to the hands; no one part agreeth to other; the temporality grudgeth again<sup>1</sup> the spirituality,

<sup>1</sup> against

the commons again the nobles, and subjects again they rulers; one hath envy at another, one beareth malice again another, one complaineth of another. They parts of this body be not knit togidder as it were with spirit and life, in concord and unity, but dissevered asunder, as they were in no case parts of one body. This is so manifest it needeth no proof, for sure arguments thereof are daily among us, both seen and heard in every place. Wherefore of this disease we need not further to doubt, which is open to every man's eye.

#### *LUPSET*

This cannot be denied; but what disease will you liken this unto, reigning in man's body, good Master Pole?

#### *POLE*

Sir, meseemeth it may well be likened to a pestilence; for like as a pestilence, wheresoever it reigneth, lightly and for the most part destroyeth a great number of the people without regard of any person had, or degree, so doth this discord and debate in a commonalty; wheresoever it reigneth, shortly destroyeth all good order and civility, and utterly taketh away all health from this politic body, and tranquillity.

#### *LUPSET*

Truly you say well; for even so it hath been from the beginning, I trow, of the world unto this day. This hath ever been a great destruction to every common weal; this hath destroyed more than any pestilence, as Livius writeth.

#### *POLE*

Well, these, Master Lupset, which I have now noted are the most common diseases touching, as it were, the health of this politic body whereof to speak we first purposed. Other there be yet concerning the beauty and strength of the same, to the which now we will direct our communication.

There is a great disorder as touching the beauty of this same body, which first you shall see. The parts of this body be not proportionable one to another—one part is too great, another too little; one part hath in it over-many people, another over-few. As, priests are too many, and yet good clerks too few; monks, freres and chanons are too many,

and yet good religious men too few. Proctors and brokers<sup>1</sup> of both laws,<sup>2</sup> which rather trouble men's causes than finish them justly, are too many; and yet good ministers<sup>3</sup> of justice are too few. Marchands carrying out things necessary for our own people are over-many, and yet they which should bring necessities are too few. Servants in men's houses are too many; craftsmen and makers of trifles are too many; and yet good artificers be too few, and occupiers and tillers of the ground are too few. After this manner, the parts in proportion not agreeing (but having of some too many and of some too few) lean<sup>4</sup> much enormity, and make in this politic body great and monstrous deformity.

### LUPSET

This is more evident than may be denied. Wherefore proceed, I pray you, in your communication.

### POLE

There is also in the strength of this body perceived no small fault. It is weak and feeble, nothing so strong as it hath been in time past. We are now at this time nother so able to defend ourself from injuries of enemies, nother of other by feats of arms to recover our right again, as we have been here beforetime; which thing should be manifestly known by sure experience, if occasion of war should it require. For this is certain and plain: there was never so few good captains here in our country as there be now, nor, as I think, never so small number of them which be exercised in deeds and feats of arms, in whom chiefly standeth the strength of every country. This is clear to all them which will consider with themselves indifferently<sup>5</sup> the state of our ream as it is now and confer<sup>6</sup> it with the old state before, when we were dreaded<sup>7</sup> and feared of our enemies and countries all about. Wherefore we need not to doubt but that our country is now weak, and nothing so strong as it hath been in old time.

### LUPSET

Sir, as touching this, when I remember the noble acts of our ancetors, by whose power hath been subdued both Scotland and France, I cannot but think it true that you say, and that our politic

<sup>1</sup> legal agents

<sup>4</sup> tend towards

<sup>2</sup> common and civil

<sup>5</sup> impartially

<sup>3</sup> administrators

<sup>6</sup> compare

<sup>7</sup> dreaded

body is not so strong as it hath been in time past, nor as it should be now of necessity. Wherefore I will not be obstinate, but plainly confess our weakness and debility.

### POLE

These are, Master Lupset, the most general fauts common to the whole body which now came to my mind as necessary to be spoken of for our purpose here at this time. Wherefore now a little we will examine the fauts which we shall find sundry in the parts, as it were, separate from the whole, as in the head, hands and feet, which I before noted here to resemble these parts in man's body. As, to the head (if you remember) I resembled the officers and rulers in every commonalty, in whose fault to see here in our country it is nothing hard. For this is general almost to them all—both princes, lords, bishops and prelates—that every one of them looketh chiefly to their own profit, pleasure and commodity, and few there be which regard the wealth of the commonalty, but under the pretence and colour thereof every one of them procureth the private and the singular weal. Princes and lords sildon<sup>1</sup> look to the good order and wealth of their subjects; only, they look to the receiving of their rents and revenues of their lands, with great study of enhancing<sup>2</sup> thereof, to the further maintaining of their pompous state; so that if their subjects do their duty therein, justly paying their rents at time appointed, for the rest they care not, as it is commonly said, “whether they sink or swim.”

Bishops also and prelates of the church, you see how little regard they have of their flock. So that they may have the wool, they little care for the simple sheep, but let them wander in wild forests, in danger of wolves daily to be devoured.

Judges and ministers of the law, you see how little regard, also, they have of good and true administration of justice. Lucre and affection ruleth all therein, for, as it is commonly and truly also said, “Matters be ended as they be friended.” If they judge be his friend whose cause is entreated,<sup>3</sup> the matter lightly cannot go amiss, but ever it shall be finished according to his desire.

These fauts you may see in officers and rulers both spiritual and temporal; whereby you may most plainly perceive how little they regard their office and duty, by the reason whereof in the head of this commonalty there is reigning a great disease, the which, as me seemeth,

<sup>1</sup> seldom

<sup>2</sup> increasing

<sup>3</sup> pleaded

may well be compared to a frenzy. For like as in a frenzy man considereth not himself, nor cannot tell what is good nother for himself nor yet for other, but everything doth that cometh to his fancy, without any order or rule of right reason, so do our officers and rulers of our country (without regard other of their own true profit or of the common, forgetting all thing which pertaineth to their office and duty) apply themselves to the fulfilling of their vain pleasures and foolish fantasy; wherefore they be taken, as it were, with a common frenzy.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, this is without fail true, nor cannot be denied.

#### *POLE*

There is also likewise in the feet and in the hands which sustain the body and procure by labour things necessary for the same, as it were, a common disease. For both the feet and they hands (to whom I resembled ploughmen and labourers of the ground, with craftsmen and artificers in procuring of things necessary) are negligent and slow to the exercise thereof which pertaineth to their office and duty. Ploughmen do not diligently labour and till they ground for the bringing forth of fruits necessary for the food and sustenance of man; craftsmen also and all artificers show no less negligence in the use of their crafts—by the reason whereof here is in our country much dearth thereof, and penury.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, this you do, as meseemeth, but only say—you nother prove it by argument nor reason.

#### *POLE*

Meseemeth it need no more to do so than to show the light of the sun by a candle—this matter is so open to every man's eye. For these many and great waste grounds here in our country, the great lack of vittle and the scarceness thereof, and dearth of all thing worked by man's hand, do not only show the great negligence of the rest of our people, but in the ploughmen also and artificers doth argy<sup>1</sup> and declare manifest lack of diligence. For this is sure—if our ploughmen here were as diligent as they be in other parts (in France, Italy or in Spain) we should not have so much waste ground, void and untilled, as there

<sup>1</sup> argue



is now; and if our artificers applied themselves to labour as diligently as they do in other countries, we should not have things made by man's hand so scarce and so dear as they be now here commonly.

For this a certain truth: that the people of England is more given to idle gluttony than any people of the world; which is to all them that have experience of the manners of other manifest and plain. Wherefore we may boldly affirm this disease to reign both in the hands and feet of this politic body, and justly, as meseemeth, compare it to a gout. For like as in a gout the hands and feet lie unprofitable to the body, having no power to exercise themselves in their natural office, but be as dead, without life and quickness to procure things necessary for the body, so in this negligence of the ploughmen and artificers this politic body lieth as dead, without life and quickness, lacking all thing necessary for the food and natural sustenance of the same. Wherefore we may well for this cause compare this disease reigning in these parts unto the gout in man's body, which so occupieth the hands and the feet that they be not able to do their office and natural exercise.

And thus now, Master Lupset, you have heard the most general diseases in this politic body, and in the parts of the same, to the which all other particular run unto, none otherwise than small brooks to great rivers. Wherefore now, following our process, we will go seek out the faults and lack of things necessary and commodious also for the maintaining of the wealth of this body, which thing to find is nothing hard. For I think there is no man so without eyes but he seeth plainly the great poverty of this ream and the great lack of things necessary and commodious to the maintaining of a true common weal.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, in this behalf I cannot agree with you, but rather I marvel that you can say so, for this ream hath been called ever rich, and of all Christendom one of the most wealthies. For as touching wool and lead, tin, iron, silver and gold, yea and all things necessary for the life of man, in the abundance whereof standeth very true riches, I think our country may be compared with any other; wherefore meseemeth you should not complain much of the poverty of our ream.

#### *POLE*

Master Lupset, you speak like a man of the old world, and not of this time. For this is undoubted and certainly true: that our isle hath

been the most wealthy and rich isle of Christendom, and not many years of go;<sup>1</sup> but if you consider it well and examine the state thereof as it is now, comparing it with the same in ancient time, I suppose you shall find great alteration therein. You shall find, for great riches and liberality in time past, now great wretchedness and poverty, and for great abundance of things necessary, great scarceness and penury; which thing you shall not doubt of at all, if you will first look to the great multitude of beggars here in our country in this lack and scarceness of people. For this is sure—that in no country of Christendom, for the number of people, you shall find so many beggars as be here in England, and mo now than have been beforetime; which argueth plain great poverty.

Then, further, if you hearken to the plaint of all states<sup>2</sup> and degrees, you shall doubt of this matter nothing at all. The ploughman, the artificer, the marchand, the gentleman—yea, lords and princes, bishops and prelates—all with one voice cry they lack money, and that they be nothing so wealthy and rich as they have been in time past. This is the consent of all states, none except; all in this agree. And it is nothing like<sup>3</sup> that all should complain without a cause. Wherefore meseemeth it cannot be doubted but that there is here among us great poverty.

And as for the lack of things necessary, who can deny, when he looketh to the great dearth of corn, cattle, victual and of all other things necessary, a common dearth argueth great lack? If there were abundance and plenty, it could not be long so dear, for abundance ever maketh everything good<sup>4</sup> cheap. Wherefore now, in this dearth of all things, we must needs confess great lack, penury and scarceness of things necessary to the maintenance of our common weal.

### *LUPSET*

Sir, meseemeth this is not well proved. For first, as touching the<sup>5</sup> multitude of beggars, it argueth no poverty, but rather much idleness and ill policy—for it is their own cause<sup>6</sup> and negligence that they so beg; there is sufficient enough here in our country of all things to maintain them without begging.

And whereas you bring the complaint of all states for an argument of poverty, meseemeth that proveth it but skenderly, for this is sure: men so exteem riches and money that, if they had thereof never so

<sup>1</sup> ago

<sup>2</sup> classes

<sup>3</sup> likely

<sup>4</sup> quite

<sup>5</sup> fault

great abundance and plenty, yet they would complain, yea, and many of them feign poverty. You shall find few that will confess themselves rich, few that will say they have enough. Howbeit, if we will justly examine the matter and compare our people of England with the people of other countries, I think we shall find them most rich and wealthy of any commons about us, for in France, Italy and Spain the commons without fail are more miserable and poor than they be here with us.

And as touching the dearth and lack of things necessary, it is with us as it is in all other places. When the provision of God sendeth us seasonable wedder<sup>1</sup> for the fruits of the ground, then we have abundance; and when it pleaseth him otherwise to punish us, then we must lack—and lay no fault in our policy. Wherefore meseemeth you need not to lay to us here in our country this great poverty, nor yet this great lack of things necessary; except it be such as cometh by the providence of God, which by no wit nor policy of man may be amended.

#### POLE

Master Lupset, I have spied by you that you are loth to grant your country to be poor, specially when you compare it with other where you see greater poverty than with us. But, Master Lupset, when we speak of the poverty of our country, we may not then compare it with them which be more poor than it; for this is no doubt, but that there is greater poverty among the common people in other parts than with us in England. But therein I will with you agree, Master Lupset, because we have before our eyes a true common weal, as we have described before, which we would set and stable here in our country. We must therefore ever look to that, showing all the faults, misorders and lacks here among us which may be any impediments thereto. And so, although peradventure our country be not so poor as many other be, yet this is sure: it is more poor than it hath been in time past, and such poverty reigneth now that in no case may stand with<sup>2</sup> a very true and flourishing common weal. For this is sure: that this multitude of beggars here in our country sheweth much poverty, yea, and, as you say, also much idleness and ill policy. It is no doubt but it argueth sufficiently both, and this complaint cometh not, as I said, also of nought; for though it be so that men may dissemble and feign great

<sup>1</sup> weather

<sup>2</sup> be consistent with

poverty, whereas none is, yet I think indeed it is not so alway. All men would not so agree in dissimuling;<sup>1</sup> some state should be content, and nothing complain.

But, Master Lupset, this is certain and sure—the corn of this ream is in few years marvellously spent, which you may know surely by the abundance thereof in other parts, whereas you shall find as great plenty thereof as in the mids<sup>2</sup> of England. Wherefore, no doubt, there is greater poverty than hath been in time past, and greater than may, as I said, with the common weal and prosperous state of our country well agree and stand. And so there is, likewise, such lack of things necessary (which cometh not only by the common ordinance and provision of God, but for lack of good order and politic rule, as hereafter, when we shall seek out the ground and cause of the same, it shall be more evident and plain)—such lack, I say, there is thereof here among us that may not be suffered with the true common weal. Wherefore, notwithstanding that we have not most extreme poverty, yet such it is as hath not been before many years here in our country, and such as must be reformed if we will restore the common weal after such form and fashion as we have described before, with a just policy.

#### LUPSET

Sir, therein I agree to you well. Howbeit, surely our country is not so poor as many other be, nor yet so poor as methought by your reasoning you would have had me to confess. But surely there is greater poverty than need to be, if there were among us good policy; for this every man may see—that some have too much, some too little, and some never a whit. Wherefore, without fail, a misorder there is whereby riseth this poverty.

#### POLE

It is enough that you will now at the last grant me that. But now let us look further yet to the outward things required to the maintenance of our common weal in this politic body. Do you not see a great fault in our cities, castles and towns concerning the building and clean keeping of the same? There is no cure nor regard of them, but every man for his time only liveth and looketh to his pleasure, without regard of the posterity.

<sup>1</sup> dissembling

<sup>2</sup> middle

### LUPSET

Surely that is very truth. As touching the goodly building of cities and towns, I trow in the world there is not less regard than here in England, which is to all them manifest which have been laboured<sup>1</sup> and travailed in other parts. Methought when I came first into Flanders and France that I was translated,<sup>2</sup> as it had been, into another world—the cities and towns appeared so goodly, so well builded, and so clean kept; of the which there is in every place so great cure and regard that every town seemed to me to strive with other, as it had been for a victory, which should be more beautiful and strong, better build and cleaner kept—such diligence they put all to that purpose. And, contrary, here with us they people seem to study to find means how they may quickliest let fall into ruin and decay all their cities, castles and towns. Every gentleman flieth into the country; few that inhabit cities or towns, few that have any regard of them; by the reason whereof in them you shall find no policy, no civil order almost, nor rule.

### POLE

Master Lupset, this is very well said of you. Before, I had much to do to make you to confess such fauts as we spake of, but now methink you will begin to confirm them, and to fulfil your promise also, made at the beginning of our communication, that was to put me in remembrance of such misorders as you also yourself, by long experience, had noted; and I pray you, Master Lupset, so to do.

### LUPSET

Well, sir, seeing that you will have me to take that part upon me now, certain things which I have noted as great detriments and hurts to our common weal, and namely concerning the outward things required to the maintenance of this politic body that you speak so much of, I will show you.

And first, as touching the bringing in and carrying out of things necessary for us, I have observed, as meseemeth, a great faut here in our country. For there is conveyance of many things necessary to the use of our people, more than may be well suffered, both of cattle and corn, wool, tin and lead and other metals whereof we have no such abundance that our country, with commodity, may lack so much. And for these things, which is worst of all, there is brought in such things

<sup>1</sup> worked

<sup>2</sup> transported

almost only as we may not only lack right well, but such as be the destruction of our people and of all diligent exercise of arts and crafts here in our country—as, many sorts of delicate wines, fine cloths, says,<sup>1</sup> and silks, beads, combs, girdles and knives and a thousand such trifling things which other we might well lack, or else, at the least, our own people might be occupied with the working thereof, which now, by the reason thereof, are much corrupt with idleness and sloth.

And in this behalf meseemeth it is a great hurt to the clothiers of England, this bringing in of French cloth; the cause why I need not to open, which to every man's eye is manifest.

And this bringing in of such abundance of wine is a great impoverishing to many gentlemen, which nowadays can keep no house without their cellars full of diverse kinds of wine. Beforetime, I am sure, it was nothing so, when this land was more flourishing than it is now. It causeth, also, much drunkenness and idleness among our common people and craftsmen in cities and towns, which, drawn by the pleasure of these delicate wines, spend their thrift and consume the time in common taverns, to the great destruction and ruin of the people.

#### POLE

This is truth that you now say, but we must take heed to lay the fault whereas it is; for that is the fault of the people, Master Lupset, and not of the abundance of wine.

#### LUPSET

That is truth, and yet, for all that, because men are so prone (of their corrupt nature) and ready to pleasure, meseemeth it were nothing amiss if the occasion were taken from them, which is surely much increased by this great abundance of wine. I would not yet nother but that some should be brought in for the pleasure of noblemen; but herein measure were good.

And so likewise of silks and says—convenient it is that some we have for the apparel of the nobility, but yet therein I note another great disorder, in the apparel, I say, of our people. For now you see there is almost no man content to wear cloth here made at home in our own country, nother linen nor woollen, but every man will wear such as is made beyond the sea, as chamlet,<sup>2</sup> says, fustians and silks; by the

<sup>1</sup> a mixture of serge and silk

<sup>2</sup> angora cloth

reason whereof divers crafts here fall in decay, as clothiers, weavers, worsted-makers, tuckers<sup>1</sup> and fullers,<sup>2</sup> with divers other of the same sort. These things follow and be annexed as common effects to the bringing in of such things as we might better lack than have in such abundance as we have now commonly.

#### *POLE*

This which you say I trow every man saith. No man can deny them who delighteth not in obstinacy.

#### *LUPSET*

There is another thing as plain as this, the which, though it be indeed no less fault than the other, yet it is taken for none at all, but rather for great honour and praise, and that is the excess in diet, and the disorder therein, which all men of judgment plainly do see. For there was never so great feasting and banketing<sup>3</sup> with so many and diverse kinds of meats as there is now in our days commonly used, and specially in mean men's houses. Now every mean gentleman for the most part will fare as well as beforetime were wont princes and lords; and this they take for their great honour which indeed is a great dishonour, and manifest destruction and detriment to the common weal sundry ways, as well by nourishing many idle gluttons, whereof springeth much sickness, as by the bringing in also of great scarceness of cattle, corn and all other vittle. For this may be a common proverb: "Many idle gluttons make vittle dear."

#### *POLE*

This disorder is also manifest; it may not be with reason denied.

#### *LUPSET*

And what think you in building? Though you found a fault before in the ill building of our cities and towns, yet meseemeth gentlemen and the nobility are in that behalf over-sumptuous. They build commonly above their degree. A mean man will have a house meet for a prince, which meseemeth is nothing convenient to his state and condition.

#### *POLE*

Well, Master Lupset, as touching that, so long as they build but of

<sup>1</sup> teasers of cloth    <sup>2</sup> cloth-treaders who softened its texture    <sup>3</sup> banqueting

timber and stone here get<sup>1</sup> at home in our own country, without gilding and daubing the posts with gold, meseemeth it may be suffered right well, for it is a great ornament to the country, and many men are well set a-work thereby. Howbeit, as you say, when men will pass their state and degree, that might be spared right well.

#### *LUPSET*

Marry, sir, that is the thing that I chiefly note; for now you shall see many men build more than they themselves or their heirs and successors be conveniently able to maintain and repair. And so such houses as by some are builded to their great costs and charge, by other are let down and suffered to fall into ruin and decay, because they were builded above their state, condition and degree.

#### *POLE*

Of that sort, Master Lupset, you shall not find very many. But the greatest fault in our building is the consuming of gold upon posts and walls, for then it never cometh after to other use or profit—only a little, for the time, it pleaseth the eye. It is a vain pomp, and of a late days brought into our country.

#### *LUPSET*

They are no small faults both together, nor cannot be excused by any good reason. And further, also meseemeth there is a great fault in tillage of the ground. There is no man but he seeth the great enclosing in every part of herable<sup>2</sup> land; and whereas was corn and fruitful tillage, now nothing is but pastures and plains, by the reason whereof many villages and towns are in few days ruinate and decayed.

#### *POLE*

This hath been thought a fault many a day; but if the matter be well examined, peradventure it is not so great as it appeareth and so is judged of the common sort. For seeing it is so that our food and nourishing standeth not only in corn and fruits of the ground but also in beasts and cattle, no less necessary than the other, there must be provision for the breeding of them as well as for the tilling of the earth, which cannot be without pastures and enclosure of ground. For this is certain: without pastures such multitude of cattle will not be maintained as is

<sup>1</sup> got

<sup>2</sup> arable



required to us here in our country, whereas lacketh the manifold and diverse fruits which is had in other countries for the sustenance of man. Wherefore I think it very necessary to have this enclosing of pastures for our cattle and beasts, and specially for sheep, by whose profit the wealth and pleasure here of this ream is much maintained. For if your plenty and abundance of wool were not here maintained, you should have little brought in by marchands<sup>1</sup> from other parts, and so we should live without any pleasure or commodity.

### LUPSET

Sir, as touching that, I remember what you said before—if we had fewer things brought in from other parts, and less carried out, we should have more commodity and very true pleasure, much more than we have now; this is certain and sure.

But now to our purpose. This is without fail: that, seeing nature hath denied us many kinds of fruits which grow in other parts to the nourishing of the people, it is necessary that we should have more increase of beasts and cattle than there is there—but yet you know well there is in all things a measure and a mean.

We have too much regard and study of the nourishing of sheep and wild beasts here in our country: it cannot be denied. And therefore meseemeth we also are oft-times justly punished therefore; for commonly they die of scab and rots in great number, which cometh chiefly, after mine opinion, because they are nourished in so fat pasture. For a sheep by his nature, and also a deer, loveth a lean, barren and dry ground. Wherefore, when they are closed in rank<sup>2</sup> pastures and batful<sup>3</sup> ground, they are soon touched with the scab and the rot. And so, though we nourish over-many by enclosure, yet over-few of them, as experience showeth, come to the profit and use of man.

And as touching other cattle and beasts of all sorts, I think with us there is commonly over-little regard of the breeding of them. Few men study the increase of that sort; but as soon as they be brought forth, commonly they be other killed where they are bred, or sold to them which purpose not to bring them up to the common profit. And so thus, notwithstanding that we have overmuch pasture, yet we have of such beasts over-few which are brought to the profit of man, and be necessary to the maintenance of the outward weal of a commonalty; of the which thing peradventure riseth a part of this great dearth both

<sup>1</sup> merchants

<sup>2</sup> luxuriant

<sup>3</sup> fruitful

of vittle and corn—as I think hereafter, in his place, you will more largely show and declare.

Now here it is sufficient for me to note this as a common faut, and that it is nothing necessary for the nourishing of our beasts to have so great enclosures of pastures, which is a great decay of the tillage of this ream, and specially when the farms of all such pastures nowadays for the most part are brought to the hands of a few and richer men, which will give other greatest rent or fine<sup>1</sup> for the use thereof; which thing I note as another great faut concerning our purpose now intended. For by this, both they poor men are excluded from their living, and beside that, the ground also worse tilled and occupied, remaining in the hands of them who thereof take little regard.

These few things now are come to my mind, which I have noted concerning the decay of riches and other outward things necessary to the wealthy maintenance of our politic body. Howbeit, to say the truth these same all follow and be annexed and coupled to such fauts as you yourself noted before.

#### POLE

I cannot tell you that, but if it were so indeed, yet it is not much amiss to have them more particularly expressed, which you in few words have sufficiently done.

Wherefore now, Master Lupset, after that we have noted the most general fauts and misorders that we can find now at this time, both in the politic body and also in the outward things of necessity required to the wealthy state and very common weal here of our country, this remaineth (according to the process of our communication at the beginning appointed): to note also and, after the manner begun, shortly to touch the misorders and ill governance which we shall find in order and rule of the state of our country; the which order and rule we before have declared to resemble the soul in man's body. For even like as the soul giveth life, governeth and ruleth the body of man, so doth civil order and politic rule (as we said before) govern and stable the politic body in every country, city and town.

And here, Master Lupset, above all, we must be diligent, forasmuch as it is more hard to spy the fauts therein than such as we have noted before. For like as it is much easier also to spy the sickness in man's body than the sickness of mind (which many men perceive nothing at

<sup>1</sup> fee

all, which be then indeed most grievously diseased when they least perceive it), so I fear me that we have many diseases or misorders (call them as you will) here in the order and governance of our country, which nothing at all are perceived nor felt; for they are, by long custom and law, in process of time so grown among us, so confirmed in our hearts, that we hardly can conceive any fault to remain therein. But I trust I shall not have you so stiff,<sup>1</sup> Master Lupset, nor so far from true judgment, but that you will give place ever to reason manifest and plain.

#### *LUPSET*

That I will surely, if I may perceive it, for I never loved blind obstinacy; but, contrary, I shall beware, as near as I can, that you shall not make me to grant such things to be misorders and faults which indeed are none at all.

#### *POLE*

This I remember we agreed upon before; but yet, because it is a good point, I am well content that we agree upon this bargain once again. And thus now let us begin.

<sup>1</sup> obstinate

## CHAPTER 4

### POLE

It is not unknown to you, Master Lupset, that our country hath been governed and ruled these many years under the state of princes, which by their regal power and princely authority have judged all things pertaining to the state of our ream to hang only upon their will and fantasy; insomuch that whatsoever they ever have conceived or purposed in their minds they thought by and by to have it put in effect, without resistance to be made by any private man and subject; or else, by and by, they have said that men should minish their princely authority. For what is a prince (as it is commonly said) but he may do what he will? It is thought that all wholly hangeth upon his only arbitrament. This hath been thought, yea, and this yet is thought to pertain to the majesty of a prince—to moderate<sup>1</sup> and rule all thing according to his will and pleasure; which is without doubt, and ever hath been, the greatest destruction to this ream, yea, and to all other, that ever hath come thereto. This I could declare to you, if it were need, by long and many stories; but I think there is no man that equally<sup>2</sup> will consider the state of our ream but he seeth this right well. For, Master Lupset, this is sure, and a Gospel word: that country cannot be long well governed nor maintained with good policy where all is ruled by the will of one not chosen by election but cometh to it by natural succession; for sildon seen it is that they which by succession come to kingdoms and reams are worthy of such high authority.

### LUPSET

Sir, take you heed here what you say, for this point that you now touch will seem, peradventure, to many, to soun to<sup>3</sup> some treason. For what—will you make a king to have no more power than one of his lords? It is commonly said—and, I think, truly—a king is above his laws; no law bindeth him; but that he, being a prince, may do what he will, both loose and bind. This, I am sure, is commonly thought among the nobles here of our realm, yea, and all the whole commonalty.

<sup>1</sup> control

<sup>2</sup> impartially

<sup>3</sup> have a touch of

## POLE

Master Lupset, this is one of the things that I spake of at the beginning, whereby we are diseased and perceive it not, by the reason whereof we are both in more grief and danger also. But if we will examine this matter well, we shall soon find such fault therein that we may well call it the root of many other.

For this is sure: like as it is most perfit and excellent state of policy and rule to be governed by a prince, and all thing to be subject to his will, so that he be such a one that in wisdom and virtue he so far excelleth all other as doth the majesty of a prince the private state of the simple commonalty; so it is of all the most pestilent and pernicious state, most full of peril, and to the common wealth most dangerous, to be ruled by one when he is not of such high virtue and perfit wisdom that, for the same only, he is to be preferred above all other, and most worthy therefore to be ruler and prince. Wherefore sithen<sup>1</sup> it is so that our princes are not chosen of the most worthies by election, but by the order of our ream, howsoever it chance, come by succession, I think it nothing expedient to commit to them any such authority and princely power, which is to singular virtue and most perfit wisdom only due and convenient.

For though it be so that some one may chance by succession to be born worthy of such authority, yet this is sure (because seldom that happeneth, and many for one be nothing worthy the same): that better it is to the state of the common weal to restrain from the prince such high authority, committing that only to the common counsel of the ream and parliament assembled here in our country. For such prerogative in power granted to princes is the destruction of all laws and policy. This you may almost in experience daily see; for there be few laws and statutes in parliaments ordained but by placards<sup>2</sup> and licence obtained of the prince they are broken and abrogate, and so to the common weal do little profit, even like as dispensations have do<sup>3</sup> in the Pope's law, which hath been the destruction of the law of the Church. Wherefore till this be redressed, little shall it avail to devise never so good statutes, ordinances and laws, which be now but as snares set for a time, after, at the liberty of the prince, to be loosed again. This is the root and mother of many misorders here in our country.

Nor you shall not think that a prince were then in worse case than

<sup>1</sup> since

<sup>2</sup> permits or letters patent

<sup>3</sup> done

any of his lords, which hath liberty to do what he will; but, contrary, forasmuch as to follow reason is very true liberty, the prince is nothing in bondage thereby, but rather, reduced to true liberty. And whereas you say the king is above his laws, that is partly true and necessary, and partly both false and pernicious. And shortly to say, so long as the king is lively reason,<sup>1</sup> which is the only head and ruler of reams by the order of nature, so long, I say, he is above his laws, which be but, as you will say, reason doom,<sup>2</sup> having no power to consider the circumstances of things; but when the prince is lively (or rather, deadly) affection,<sup>3</sup> then, I say, he is subject to his laws, and bounden to be obedient to the same; which obedience is indeed true liberty. For, be you assured, this is a great fault in every ream—any one man to have such authority to dispense with the common laws and with the transgressors and breakers of the same, to distribute all great promotions and office, to make and break leagues and peace with other nations and princes about. To leave, I say, all such things to the free will and liberty of one is the open gate to all tyranny. This is the ground of the destruction of all civility; this inerteth<sup>4</sup> and turneth up so down all politic order and rule. For this is sure: the wit of one commonly cannot compass so much as the wit of many, in matters of policy; for it is commonly said: “Many eyes see better than one.” Wherefore, to be short, and so to conclude, to attribute so much to the will and pleasure of one cannot be without the great ruin and destruction of the common weal and of all good and just policy.

### *LUPSET*

Sir, I marvel much at your communication, for meseemeth you allow the state of a prince and would not but that we should be governed thereby, and yet you will not give him the authority of a prince, which standeth in this, that by his regal power given to him by the consent of the whole commons he may moderate all thing according to his pleasure and will; or else it should be necessary to call very oft the common counsel of parliament, and so oft as any great causes incident<sup>5</sup> required the same, which pertain to the whole body of the ream—which were no small trouble to the commons of this ream. Therefore I cannot see but if you will have a king you must also give him the power pertaining to the majesty of the same.

<sup>1</sup> the personification of reason

<sup>2</sup> the personification of appetites

<sup>4</sup> nullifies

<sup>3</sup> fixed judgments of reason

<sup>5</sup> occurring by the way

## POLE

Master Lupset, if kings and princes in reams were by election chosen such as, of all other, for their princely virtues, were most worthy to rule, it then were very convenient they should have all such authority as is annexed to the same. But sithen they be not so, but come by succession, you see they be seldom of that sort, as I said before, but, ruled by affection, draw all thing to their singular lust, vain pleasure, and inordinate will. It cannot be denied but to the common weal such authority (other usurped or by prerogative given thereto) is pernicious and hurtful to the common weal, and here in our country (freely to speak betwix you and me) a great destruction to our country, which hath been perceived by our fore-fathers' days, at diverse and many times, and should be also now, if we had not a noble and wise prince which is ever content to submit himself to the order of his counsel, nothing abusing his authority. -

But albeit that he of his goodness abuseth it not at all, yet to us which now study to find all fauts in the policy and rule here of our country it may well appear to be noted as a great faut, forasmuch as he may abuse it if he will, and no retrainit is had thereof by the order of our law, but rather by law such prerogative is given to him, insomuch that, as you said right well before, it is almost treason to speak anything again the same. Therefore we may not doubt but it is a faut, and much more the grievous because we are bend<sup>1</sup> to the defence of the same, and scant perceive this grief in our policy.

## LUPSET

Sir, this I cannot deny, but that a faut there is, as meseemeth, therein. But how it should be redressed and reformed again, I cannot yet see, but by much more inconvenience ensuing the same.

## POLE

Well, as for that, we shall see when time and place it shall require. Now let us boldly affirm this to be a great disorder in the politic rule here of our country, seeing the kings here are taken by succession of blood and not by free election, which is in our policy another great faut and disorder also; and of us now specially to be noted, seeing that we have purposed before, ever as a mark to shoot unto, the very and true common weal, which cannot long stand in such state, whereas

<sup>1</sup> inclined

princes are ever had by succession of blood, specially if we give unto him such regal and princely power as we do in our country. For though sometime it may fortune such a prince to be born which will not abuse such power, yet for the most part the contrary will have place.<sup>1</sup> Wherefore we now which seek the best order must needs confess this thing to be a fault in policy, for in all laws and politic order this is a rule—such thing to determine as for the most part is best, though sometime the contrary may happen and fall. How say you, is it not so, Master Lupset?

### LUPSET

Sir, in this matter I can scant tell you what I shall say, for a the one part, when I hear your reasons, meseem they are probable and like the truth, but a the other side, when I look to the experience and consider the manners, custom and nature here of our country, meseemeth the contrary, and that it should be very expedient to have our prince by succession of blood and not by election, insomuch as the end of all laws and politic rule is to keep the citizens in unity and peace and perfit concord among themselves.

For in no country may be any greater pestilence or more pernicious than civil war, sedition and discords among the parts of the politic body. This is the thing that hath destroyed all common weals, as to you it is better known than to me. Wherefore we must beware of all occasion of such mischief, to the which, after mine opinion, your sentence<sup>2</sup> maketh a way. For what thing may be devised occasion of more strife among us, than to chese our king by election of lords and peers of the ream? For then every man would be king, every man would judge himself as meet as another, and so there should be faction and parts, with great ambition and envy; and so also, at the end, ever sedition and civil war. For our people be of that nature that, if they had such liberty, surely they would abuse it to their own destruction. Therefore meseemeth, forasmuch as we be used to take our prince by succession of blood, this free election that you so praise may not be admitted.

### POLE

Well, Master Lupset, notwithstanding that by good reason you seem to defend this custom long used in our ream and nation, yet, if

<sup>1</sup> take place

<sup>2</sup> idea



we remember our purpose well and order of reasoning, it shall be nothing hard to take away your reason at all. This you know is our purpose—to find out the best order that by prudent policy may be stablished in our ream and country, and to find all fauts which repugn to the same, of the which this I noted to be one principal and chief. For what is more repugnant to nature, than a whole nation to be governed by the will of a prince, which ever followeth his frail fantasy and unrulèd affects? What is more contrary to reason than all the whole people to be ruled by him which commonly lacketh all reason? Look to the Romans (whose common weal may be example to all other) which, like as their consuls, so likewise their kings chose ever of the best and most excellent in virtue. Look also unto Lacedamonia, and in all other noble countries of Greece where the people were ruled by a prince, and you shall find that he was ever chosen by free election. This succession of princes by inheritance and blood was brought in by tyrans and barbarous princes, which, as I said, is contrary to nature and all right reason; which you may see also, more evidently, by succession in private families, wherein you see that if the son be prodigal and given to all vice and folly, the father is not bound to make him his heir (whereas is good policy) but hath liberty to choose him another whereas he thinketh convenient and best. Much more is it to be admitted in a ream that, if the prince be not meet to succeed his father, that then another is to be chosen by the free election of the citizens in the country. Wherefore we may thus surely conclude, that best it is for the conservation of politic order and just policy, a prince to be chosen by free election at liberty.

And yet, Master Lupset, I will not say nor affirm but, as the state of our ream is, and here in our nation, it is better to take him by succession of blood, for the avoiding of all such discord, debate and confusion as you before said. But, Master Lupset, that is not the best of his nature which, of two things which both be ill, is only the better. Truth it is, as our people be now affected and as the state of our ream is, ill it is to take our prince by succession, and much worse by free election. And yet if we will stablish a true common weal without all tyranny and without all wretchedness of the people and misery, we must needs grant this best to be, and most convenient to nature: to take a prince elected and chosen of all others for his wisdom and virtue most worthy to reign. We may not consider what is best and most convenient to our people now as they be, but what should be

most convenient to them governed and ruled by civil order and reasonable life, according to the excellent dignity of the nature of man. And thus there is no repugnance betwix your opinion and mine in this great matter, for both be true, if we ponder them after such manner as I have before said and opened<sup>1</sup> at large. Therefore, if you think best, let us proceed further in our communication; for this is sure—both to give to our prince such regal power and high prerogative and also to have him by succession of blood is a great fault in our policy and much distant from all civil order.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, you have now satisfied me right well. For now I see that, notwithstanding that it is better, as our people are affect, to have our prince by succession of blood, yet if they would live in true liberty and observe the civil life convenient to the nature of man, best it were to have him chosen by free election. Therefore, I pray you, go forward, and let us examine some other misorders in our politic rule and order of life.

#### *POLE*

A like fault unto this, but not so great, is in the succession of private men. You know, by the order of our law the eldest brother succeedeth, excluding all the other from any part of inheritance. This is a thing, as me seemeth, far out of order, utterly to exclude the younger brethren out of all parts of the heritage, as though they were not the childer of that father nor brethren to the heir. Reason and nature utterly requireth that they childer, which be as parts of the father and mother, should also be admitted to parts of the patrimony, that, even like as they have brought them forth into the light, so their goods might maintain and succour them after in their life. Wherefore utterly to exclude them from all, as though they had committed some great offence and crime against their parents, is plain against reason, and seemeth to diminish the natural love between the father and the child, and also increase envy and hatred between them which nature hath so bounden together. For between brethren undoubtedly this thing squeaketh<sup>2</sup> much of the brotherly love which nature hath planted and rooted. And so this may not be denied to be another misorder in our politic rule and governance.

<sup>1</sup> expounded

<sup>2</sup> damages (?)

### LUPSET

Sir, as touching this, I marvel much also what you mean. Me-seemeth you are about to take utterly away our policy and whole order of this our ream. You note such things to be fauts wherein resteth all the honour of our country, and which is the ground of all good order and civility. I trow hereafter you will gadder and note many great fauts and misorders in many other things, that thus begin of such thing which I and many mo take for good law and policy.

### POLE

Well, as for that, Master Lupset, you know well that we purpose not to touch all fauts in our manner of living, for that, as I said at beginning, were infinite, and great folly, but only to note such things as in general repugn to the common weal before described, and such as for the most part are taken for no fauts at all; of the number of whom is this which we speak of now. And other, peradventure, we shall, as time requireth, open and touch. But, Master Lupset, to return to the purpose, let me hear a little your mind in this matter, somewhat more at large.

### LUPSET

Sir, with a good will. First, me thinketh that this may be a sure and certain ground for the rest of our communication—that laws are made for the people and for the order of them, and not the people for the laws, the which, therefore, must be applied somewhat to the nature of them. Wherefore all such laws, ordinances and statutes which contain the people in good order and rule are to be allowed and justly to be received.

This, I think, was well considered of them which first institute this law of inheritance. They well considered the nature of our people, which by nature be somewhat rude and sturdy of mind, insomuch that if they had not in every place some heads and governors to temper their affects rude and unruly, there would among them be no order at all. And therefore it was not without cause, as it appeareth, ordained and stablished that in every great family the eldest should succeed, to maintain a head which by authority, dignity and power should better contain<sup>1</sup> the rudeness of the people.

For this is both certain and sure: that if the lands in every great

<sup>1</sup> restrain

family were distributed equally betwix the brethren, in a small process of years they head families would decay, and by little and little utterly vanish away. And so they people should be without rulers and heads, the which then, by their rudeness and folly, would shortly disturb this quiet life and good policy which by many ages they have led here in our country—such should be the dissension and discord one with another. And so meseemeth the maintenance of these heads is the maintenance of all civil order and politic rule here in our nation.

Wherefore, Master Pole, if you take this away, it appeareth plainly you shall take away the foundation and ground of all our civility, and beside this you shall therewith bring in the ruin of all nobility and ancient stocks. For if you from nobles once take their great possessions, or minister any occasion to the same, you shall in process of years confound the nobles and the commons togidder, after such manner that there shall be no difference betwix the one and the other. This appeareth to me, except, Master Pole, you can answer to these reasons, which seem plainly to conclude contrary to your sentence. For as touching that you say this manner of inheritance to be contrary to the law of nature, that I cannot grant, forasmuch as the disposition of these wordly goods lieth not ever in the free will of man, to dispose at his liberty, but by order of law civil may be disposed, ordered and bounden to the maintenance of good policy, the which repugneth, after my judgment, nothing at all to the law of nature and honesty.

#### POLE

Well, Master Lupset, notwithstanding your reasons seem to be strong and of great weight, yet if we can put before our eyes the common weal before declared, it shall not be hard to make to them answer. Howbeit, they have also somewhat of the truth mingled withal; for surely, after as you say, the rudeness of our people requireth heads and governors to contain them in order and quietness, and though it be not necessary at all, yet in great families this manner of succession may be suffered right well. Howbeit, some provision for the second brethren by the order of law also would be had, and not to leave them bare to the only courtesy of their eldest brother, whose love oft-times is so cold and weak that he may well suffer his brethren to live in greater poverty than is convenient to their nobility. But if you would suffer this addition and moderation to be joined thereto, your reasons

should prove right well, in great houses (as princes, dukes, earls and barons) such manner of succession to be allowed as convenient.

But now, a the other part, to admit the same commonly among all gentlemen of mean sort, whatsoever they be, this is not tolerable; this is almost, as you said, again nature and all good civility, for this bringeth in among the multitude over-great inequality, which is the occasion of dissension and debate. You may take of this example of the ancient Romans, whose laws, meseemeth, be drawn out of nature—with whom all heritages be equally divided by order of law and not left to the affection of the father, which commonly is more bent to one child than to another; but even as they be of nature without difference brought forth, so without difference they equally succeed in their inheritance left to their family.

And thus, Master Lupset, you may see how that both your reasons and mine also may have place, if they be well applied and indifferently weighed. For even like as it is among the nobles convenient to succeed after such manner, for the maintenance of the heads and of nobility, so it is again reason and all civil order to admit the same among all the people commonly. But, Master Lupset, this faut sprang of a certain arrogancy whereby, with the entailing of lands, every Jack would be a gentleman, and every gentleman a knight or a lord, as we shall show hereafter in his place. Wherefore, Master Lupset, now if you think this to be a faut, after such manner as it is now declared, let us proceed and seek out for other of the same sort.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, you say well, for surely you have so in few words declared your mind in this behalf that I cannot deny but that herein lieth a misorder. But at the beginning it appeared a very strange thing utterly to take away our manner of succession which so many years hath been allowed, and, as methought, not without great reason. I think also, verily, that at the first ordinance of our laws, even as you say, that this manner of succession was only in great families, and yet not without some provision for the other brethren, as they have yet in France, Flanders and in Italy; the second brother hath ever some castle or town appointed to him by the order of their law and custom in every great family. But truly I cannot but confess, this manner to be received among all men of mean state and degree to be utterly again all good civility, and without fail riseth of the ground that you well have noted.

I have ever thought this manner of entailing of lands commonly not to be allowed by just policy. Wherefore methink this is a fault worthy now to be spoken of also, for this entailing, specially after such manner only to the eldest son in every base family, maketh many reckless heirs, causeth them little to regard nother learning nor virtue, inasmuch as they are sure to be inheritors to a great portion of entailed land, and so, by this assurance, they give themselves to all vanity and pleasure, without respect; the which I think they would not do if they were in doubt of such possessions, and the whole inheritance to hang upon their behaviour and bearing.

#### POLE

As for that, Master Lupset, the law doth command no such entailing but permitteth it only.

#### LUPSET

Marry, that is the thing also that I reprove. For though in great houses such entailing may be suffered for the maintenance of the family, yet in the base families commonly this to be admitted, surely it is nothing convenient, forasmuch as it bringeth in great inequality and so much hate and malice among the commonalty. Wherefore this is no small error in the order of our law, and may well be coupled with the other.

#### POLE

Let us admit it then to be so, and go forward. There is another manner and custom touching these heirs in our country, no less, after my mind, to be reproved, than the other before noted, and that is this. You know well, with us, if a man die which holdeth his lands by knight's service of any superior, leaving his heir within<sup>1</sup> age, his lands fall into the hands of the said superior and lord; he during his nonage to be in the ward,<sup>2</sup> tuition and governance of the same. This appeareth to me far again reason. First, it is nothing convenient, the heir to be in governance and rule of him which is to him nother kin or ally, by the reason whereof he hath little regard of his bringing up in learning and virtue; and, further, his lands to be in the hands of his superior, without any count<sup>3</sup> thereof to be had, is yet less convenient and more again reason, specially seeing they have also such power upon they heir that they may afterward marry him at their liberty with whom

<sup>1</sup> under

<sup>2</sup> protection

<sup>3</sup> account of stewardship

they think best—and most for their profit. This, meseemeth, is a plain servitude<sup>1</sup> and injury, and no guard<sup>2</sup> to be admitted in good policy. How say you to this, Master Lupset—think you not so?

#### LUPSET

Sir, there be many things here in our country which, if a man consider lightly<sup>3</sup> and judge them evenly, may appear much contrary to reason and good policy; but they same, a little better considered and deeplier weighed, shall seem not only to be tolerable enough but also just and reasonable—of the which number I think this to be one whereof we now speak. For if you consider the ground and the ordinance of the law at the first beginning, I suppose you will not so much reprove the matter as you do. For this we find in stories and in the first institution of our common law: that at such time as William the Conqueror subdued our country and stablished our laws, certain lands were given out of great families to inferior persons for their service done to them before, under such condition that whensoever they deceased leaving their heirs within age, that then these lands during the nonage should return to the superior again by whose benefit it came to the family and stock, and the same man also to have such power to marry him as he thought best and most convenient; howbeit nothing compelling him therein at all, but only by gentle and good exhortation moving him thereto for his profit and singular comfort; the which meseemeth much reasonable, considering they benefits come all from him by the which the whole family should be maintained. And as for count during the nonage, why should he make any, seeing for that time it is as his own? For the lands were given at the first beginning under such condition, as I said before. Wherefore it is not so unreasonable for him to have both ward and marriage, and of the lands nothing to be contable.<sup>4</sup>

#### POLE

Well, Master Lupset, set what face you will upon this matter, you cannot persuade me this order to be good, specially when I look to the perfit common weal which I would might be stablished here in our country. Let it be so that at the time of the first entry of the Conqueror, or tyran (call him as you will), this manner might be for the time convenient; but now, if we will restore our country to a perfit state with

<sup>1</sup> servitude

<sup>2</sup> guardianship

<sup>3</sup> but a little

<sup>4</sup> accountable

a true common weal, we must shake off all such tyrannical customs and unreasonable bands institute by that tyran when he subdued our country and nation. I cannot deny but, as you say, they which gave their lands to their servants might put such condition both of ward and marriage—and so it may appear somewhat reasonable, all their successors to be bound, after that manner, to them which consider the time of the tyran. But we must look a little higher, and consider the time of nature to the which we would form our common weal; and then we shall find this bondage to be unreasonable among civil people purposing to live in a just policy. Wherefore, Master Lupset, let us no more doubt of this matter.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, you ever stop my mouth with this consideration of the perfit state; to the which, without fail, this manner doth somewhat repugn, for surely it smelleth a little of tyranny. Wherefore, because I will not with no sophistical reason repugn to the manifest truth and equity, therefore I will confess this to be a great error in our common weal and policy, without further letting you to proceed in the rest of your communication.

#### *POLE*

Master Lupset, therein you do well, for if you should tarry our communication with sophistical arguments, we should not this day note half the errors which I purpose to talk with you of. For there is nothing so true and manifest but the subtlety of man's reason may devise something to say contrary, and to impugn the same, as in this which now I will speak of, which, meseemeth, is so manifest an error in our law that no man may it deny—and yet I cannot think but you will find somewhat to lay again it.

#### *LUPSET*

It may well be. But I promise you, as I have said before, I will not repugn for no study nor desire of victory, but only for the invention<sup>1</sup> of the truth and equity; for you know well that doubting and laying somewhat again the truth maketh it oft-times to appear more manifest and plain. Therefore let us see what thing it is that you think so manifest a fault.

<sup>1</sup> discovery



### POLE

Sir, it is touching appellations<sup>1</sup> in causes, and removing by writ. You know right well it is with us commonly used, that if any man have any controversy in the shire where he dwelleth, if he be purposed to vex his adversary he will by writ remove his cause to the court at Westminster—by the which mean oft-times the unjust cause prevai-leth, insomuch as the one party is not peradventure so able as the other to wage his law;<sup>2</sup> and so justice is oppressed, truth overthrown, and wrong taketh place. This, methink, is plain, except you have anything to lay again it.

### LUPSET

Sir, as touching this matter, methink you do amiss. For you lay the faut (which is in the party) to the ordinance of the law—for the party is to blame which thus will vex his adversary for his pleasure or profit. But the ordinance of the law is greatly to be allowed, which, for-because oft-times in the shire, by parties made by affection and power, matters are so borne and bolstered<sup>3</sup> that justice cannot have place with indifferency, hath ordained that, by writ, the cause might be removed to London to indifferent judgment, whereas the parties be nother of both known, nor by affection favoured. Therefore in the law, touching this behalf, I think there is no faut at all.

### POLE

Then, Master Lupset, methink you ponder not all well and deeply. For thought it be truth, as you say, a faut there is in the one party which so maliciously vexeth his adversary, yet the law thereby is not excused which so serveth to the malice of man, so lightly admitting the removing of the cause before sentence be given, and before it be known perfittly whether the matter should be borne by any power or parties in the shire or not. For in such case, as you say right well, apellation is necessary, and removing of the cause to indifferent judgment. But as the order is, I think you see there is faut both in the party and in the manner of the law, and that not only in removing by writ matters out of the shire, but likewise from the judges of the common law to the chancery and to the higher counsel, by injunction;<sup>4</sup> the which thing, as it appeareth, letteth much justice, and troubleth

<sup>1</sup> appeals from a lower to a higher court

<sup>3</sup> propped up

<sup>2</sup> go to law

<sup>4</sup> edict

the whole order and process of the law. How say you, Master Lupset, think you not this to be truth?

*LUPSET*

Sir, without fail, I cannot deny but other the law, other the ministers thereof, are somewhat too easy in granting and admitting such appellation and injunction before the matters examined and tried other in the country or before the judges in the common law. For this were reasonable—that at the least they should tarry till the party found himself grieved with the sentence which he judged to be wrongfully given. This is undoubtedly a great fault in the order of our law, and causeth many poor men to be wrongfully oppressed. Therefore, agreeing upon this, let us go forward.

*POLE*

There is also a great fault which appeareth concerning the process in suits of causes. I see many men's matters hang in suit<sup>1</sup> two, three or four year and more, and cannot be finished; the which causes of themselves be not so obscure but they might be defined in fewer days than they hang years—the which, methink, cannot be without some fault in the order of the law. For though it be so that these hungry advocates and cormorants of the court study much to delay causes for their lucre and profit, yet I think it cannot be denied but there is some fault also in the order of the law, and in policy. For this is sure: if it were well ordered, justice should not be so defeated,<sup>2</sup> nor the process thereof so be stopped by every light and covetous sergeant, proctor or attorney. Wherefore methink we may justly number this among the other before noted. How think you, Master Lupset—is it not so?

*LUPSET*

Sir, shortly to say, this I do think: that if they ministers were good, I suppose there would be no great fault found in the process of the law nor order of the same. For the covetous and greedy minds of them destroyeth all law and good policy—which is a marvellous thing, to see them which were first institute for the maintenance and setting forward of true justice and equity now to be the destruction of the same with all injury.

<sup>1</sup> are pending

<sup>2</sup> frustrated

*POLE*

Well, Master Lupset, this is no doubt—the ministers be the greatest cause of all such misorders. But yet this may not be denied, as methink, but that there is a lack also in the order of the law at the least, forasmuch as it suffereth such delays by false ministers, and maketh no provision therefore; it cannot be excused.

*LUPSET*

Sir, as touching that, I agree to you also that there is a certain lack also in the order of the law.

*POLE*

That is enough now to us whose purpose is to search out the common errors, faults and defects in our politic rule. Therefore let us proceed after the manner begun.

Methink, to descend to this part, the order of our law also in the punishment of theft is over-strait, and faileth much from good civility. For with us, for every little theft a man is by and by hanged without mercy or pity—which, meseemeth, is again nature and humanity, specially when they steal for necessity, without murder or manslaughter committed therein.

*LUPSET*

Sir, I cannot tell why you should call this order over-strait which is not yet, by all his straitness, sufficient to make felons to be ware one by another. I think if we could devise a punishment more straiter than death, it were necessary to be ordained and received among us; for you know the greatness of the offence is such again the common weal, which disturbeth all quiet life and peaceable, that no pain is too great\* to the punishment thereof.

*POLE*

Sir, yet, methink, a just moderation were to be had therein; for though it be so that the offence be great again the common weal, yet when it is done upon great necessity, and without murder, and at the first time specially, better it were to find some way how the man might be brought to better order and frame.<sup>1</sup> For by and by to hang him up is, without fail, over-strait and too much severity, when it is

<sup>1</sup> organisation

done without respect,<sup>1</sup> specially considering that it availeth not also to the repressing of the fault, as by long time and many years we have had proof sufficient.

*LUPSET*

Sir, if there might be a way devised by good policy whereby they might be brought to some better order, it were not to be refused, but necessary to our purpose.

*POLE*

That we shall see hereafter in his place; now it is enough if you will confess it to be over-strait.

*LUPSET*

Yes, that is no doubt, if we could find a way to temper and refrain<sup>2</sup> their malice by other mean than by death, as I think hereafter you will show.

*POLE*

Sir, in his place this thing I will not omit. But now to our purpose.

A like severity I find in the punishment of treason, whereby, you know, not only the heir and all the stock loseth his lands, but also the creditors wholly are defeated<sup>3</sup> of the debt, whatsoever it be, without respect—which thing appeareth over-strait also.

*LUPSET*

Sir, me think you ponder not well the greatness of this fault, which of all other is the most heinous. Wherefore the traitor is not only to be punished in his body and goods, but also in his childer and friends, that by his example other may beware of so great a crime.

*POLE*

Sir, all this were reasonable, yea, and over-little, if they were of counsel with the traitor.

*LUPSET*

That by the law is presupposed and utterly presumed to be the

<sup>1</sup> indiscriminately

<sup>2</sup> restrain

<sup>3</sup> defrauded

truth; and in case be that they be not guilty at all, the prince, if he will, may pardon such punishment.

*POLE*

That is truth. But this hangeth only upon the will of the prince—a very weak thread in such a case. Wherefore, as I said, an exception were to be required by the order of the law, which appeareth overstrait in that punishment, like as in the other before rehearsed.

*LUPSET*

Sir, albeit here may be much spoken in this matter again your sentence, yet because it leaneth to<sup>1</sup> equity and conscience after my mind also, I will not be obstinate, but grant this to you, lest I should let you otherwise than is convenient now to our purpose.

*POLE*

Further, also, in the accusing of treason there is, meseemeth, overgreat liberty. For with us, if a man accuse another of treason, though he prove it not, yet he is not punished, but freely pardoned by the custom here used, which is plain again all good reason.

*LUPSET*

Sir, in that I cannot well agree with you. For insomuch as they crime is so great, only suspicion is to be accused, without any deed; to the which if there were punishment grievous by the law appointed, there would never be accusation till the deed were done; and so the state of the common weal should never be stable nor quiet. Wherefore, not without cause, upon suspicion only every man may freely accuse other of treason.

*POLE*

Master Lupset, you say in that right well that, because the crime is so great, suspicion only is to be accused—so that it be probably conceived.<sup>2</sup> For every light suspicion in such great causes is not to be admitted, as it is with us in custom and use; and that is the fault only that I find here in our country.

<sup>1</sup> tends towards

<sup>2</sup> provided that there are reasonable grounds for it

### *LUPSET*

Sir, he that upon light suspicion accuseth any man of so great crime surely were worthy to be punished. This I cannot deny; and so in admitting such light suspicion to be accused, our law is somewhat over-light again the accusers.

### *POLE*

These, Master Lupset, are the most general things touching the order of our common law, which among infinite other I have picked out and thought to be noted now at this time, for the restoring of a just policy. Wherefore, except you remember any other, we may proceed to the faults in the spiritual part called. For of this body there be also no small misorders, and peraventure greater than in this.

### *LUPSET*

Sir, you shall do well; for meseemeth you have said meetly in this behalf.

Howbeit, I marvel that one thing you have so let pass concerning the common law, which, though it be no fault in the order thereof, yet methink it standeth not well. The thing is this—that our common law is written in the French tongue and therein disputed and taught, which, beside that it is again the common weal, is also ignominious, and dishonour to our nation, forasmuch as thereby is testified our subjection to the Normans. This thing appeareth to me not well, for common law would ever be written in the common tongue, that every man that would might understand the better such statutes and ordinances as he is bounden to observe.

### *POLE*

Master Lupset, this is well noted of you, for surely this is a thing that no man by reason may well defend. And the same also is in the law of the Church, which appeareth to me no less necessary to be put in our mother tongue than the other.

### *LUPSET*

Sir, as touching that, hereafter in his place we may examine and try out the truth herein, for, peraventure, the reason is not all one.<sup>1</sup> For by the reason thereof we are in our country constrained to learn the

<sup>1</sup> exactly the same

Latin tongue, which is necessary to them which will live togidder in good civility, because all the liberal arts are contained therein.

#### POLE

Well, Master Lupset, let us not enter into this disputation now but, even as you say, defer it to his place, and now proceed to the spirituality,<sup>1</sup> wherein the fauts are open to the world.

And first, and above all other, concerning the authority given to the head (or else by many years usurped upon us tyrannically): I mean the authority of the Pope. You know he taketh upon him the dispensation of all laws stablished by God and man, the which by money his officers do sell; as it were, proclaiming after this manner\*: "Whosoever will break such laws and such, let him bring this sum of money, and I shall dispense with him." This is a intolerable usage and custom. How think you, Master Lupset, is it not thus?

#### LUPSET

Yes, truly, abuse there is therein—but yet in the law I cannot tell. For necessary it is to have one head to moderate and temper the straitness of the law, or else we should have, very oft, general counsels. And beside that, such authority cometh to him from our Master, Christ, which in the Gospel gave that to Sain Peter and to all his successors also; wherefore that authority may not be taken away, except you will take away the ground of our religion withal.

#### POLE

Nay, Master Lupset, not so. I will not name any point of the Gospel at all. Howbeit, herein is great controversy nowadays, the which I will not here examine; but briefly I will show you mine opinion therein—take it if you list. I think the authority given to Sain Peter was nothing of that sort which nowadays the Popes usurp, but it was only to declare penitent hearts, contrite for their sin, to be absolved from the faut thereof, and that it should be no more imputed to them. And as for the dispensation of laws which after were ordained by man, was also by man given to the See of Rome. I mean not to the person of the Pope, but to him and to his College of Cardinals also, which at the first were chosen by their virtue and learning, men of ancient wisdom and sage. They were not made by money as they are

<sup>1</sup> those in holy orders

now, and of all age, without respect. Wherefore this is my sentence: the Pope hath no such authority to dispense with general laws made by the Church, nother by the power given to him by God nor by man. For his power given to him by God extendeth only to the absolution of sin; and that which by man was given was not given only to him but to the whole company of the See of Rome—and so he, in abusing this power, destroyeth the whole order of the Church. This is clear, as I could by many stories confirm, if I thought there were any doubt therein. But now, as I said, therefore I think I may affirm great misorder to be in the usurping of this authority.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, as touching the dispensation, without doubt great fault there is. And surely, that he hath no authority thereto but only by the consent of man, methink should be very truth. Wherefore in the abuse thereof is no less detriment to the law of the Church than is to the common law here of our country by the prerogative of the prince. Let us therefore agree upon this.

#### *POLE*

Of this same ground springeth also another great misorder, in appellation of such as be called spiritual causes. In a great cause nowadays sentence cannot be sure nor firm, for the one party will by and by appeal to Rome, as who say that within our ream there were nother wisdom nor justice to examine such matters. This is not only great hurt to the common weal but also great shame and dishonour to our country.

#### *LUPSET*

Why, but then meseemeth you would no appellation, be the sentence never so unjust, which is again the order of any common weal, whereas appellation is ever admitted to the head and to higher authority. Wherefore, seeing you grant the Pope with his College of Cardinals to be head made and admitted by the consent of man, you must need admit also appellation thereto.

#### *POLE*

Sir, as touching this, you say well; for appellation I do not utterly take away, but I would have it moderate, after good reason, that every



trifling cause should not be referred to Rome, as it hath been long in use.

*LUPSET*

As for that, I will grant you to be a great fault, like as it is in the common law by removing of causes to London by writ.

*POLE*

Then let us go forward. What think you by the law of Annates? Is it not unreasonable, the first-fruits<sup>1</sup> to run to Rome to maintain the pomp and pride of the Pope, yea, and war also and discord among Christian princes, as we have seen by long experience?

*LUPSET*

Well, sir, that is no more but to show the abuse of the thing, for the which you may not utterly take away the ordinance of the law, which was ever for a good purpose, as in this. These first-fruits were appointed, as I conjecture, to maintain the majesty of our head and magnificence of the See, and also to defend our Church from the subjection of the enemies of Christ's faith. Wherefore better it were to provide a good use of these things than utterly to take them away.

*POLE*

Well, Master Lupset, to make you a brief answer, I think these causes that you lay<sup>2</sup> now have no place. For first, as for the magnificence and majesty of the Church, standeth not in such possessions and pomp but in stableness and purity of Christian life: this is a thing clear and manifest. And as for the defence of the Church, pertaineth not to the Pope and his See but rather to the Emperor and other Christian princes—wherefore to pill<sup>3</sup> their countries for this purpose is not just nor reasonable. And thus, shortly, I think remaineth no just cause why these annates should be paid to Rome.

*LUPSET*

Sir, I perceive well all these things hang upon one thread. You harp upon one string continually, which in his place I think you will

<sup>1</sup> First-fruits were the equivalent of a premium; they had to be paid to the Pope before a newly-appointed bishop or archbishop could enjoy the proceeds of his diocese.      <sup>2</sup> reasons you allege      <sup>3</sup> plunder

temper. Therefore now, because I will not be obstinate and offend again my ghosts,<sup>1</sup> denying the plain and manifest truth, I will no more repugn in these causes.

*POLE*

The same disorder that is in appellations and annates also to the See of Rome is also in appealing to the Court of the Bishop of Canterbury, called the Arches, whereas\* causes are removed without examination or sentence before given in the diocese.

*LUPSET*

There is no doubt but there is also great abuse therein.

*POLE*

And what say you\* by the prerogative given to the same Bishop of Canterbury, whereby he hath the probacion of testament and the administration of intestate goods, by the reason whereof they be sequestered from the profit of all the friends of him which so died intestate, and be spoiled of the ravenous and polling<sup>2</sup> officers?

*LUPSET*

Sir, in this is also great fault, I cannot deny.

*POLE*

And what think you by the law and common ordinance which permitteth priests, in such number as they are now, to be made at twenty-five year of age—an office of so great dignity to be given to youth so full of frailty? This appeareth to me nothing convenient, and contrary to the ordinance of the Church at the first institution.

*LUPSET*

Sir, that is truth, and that is the cause that at that time priests were of perfert virtue, as now, contrary, they be full of vanity.

*POLE*

And how think you by the law which admitteth to religion of all sorts youth of all age almost, insomuch that you shall see some freres

<sup>1</sup> conscience

<sup>2</sup> despoiling

whom you would judge to be born in the habit, they are so little and young admitted thereto?

*LUPSET*

Surely of this, after my mind, springeth the destruction of all good and perfit religion. For what thing may be more contrary to reason than to see him profess religion which nothing knoweth what religion meaneth? This is undoubtedly a great error in all order of religion.

*POLE*

And what think you by the law which bindeth priests to chastity? Is not this of all other most unreasonable, specially in such a multitude as there is now?

*LUPSET*

Sir, in this many things may be said. But because I will not repugn again my conscience, I will say as Pope Pius did, that great reason in the beginning of the Church brought that law into the order of the Church, but now greater reason should take the same away again, and so I will confess that . . . [*Lacuna*]

*POLE*

Master Lupset, you are very easy in the admission of these fauts in the spirituality. I think you spy many things amiss in that order and degree. Wherefore cease not, I pray you, such to open as now come to your memory.

*LUPSET*

Sir, as touching this point, if I should recite all that I know, I should be tedious to you plainly herein. Wherefore I will not enter to that camp, forbecause that you have noted such as be most capital, which, if they were stopped, should shortly remedy the rest whereof I would speak.

*POLE*

Well then, Master Lupset, seeing that we have now examined the most general and common errors which we have observed to be in our law, both spiritual and temporal, as they have come to our remem-

brance now, let us now hereafter by like manner examine the customs most commonly used which seem to repugn to good civility.

*LUPSET*

Marry, sir, this order is good, for then we shall note and touch much which is now to our purpose.

*POLE*

First and most principal of all ill customs used in our country commonly, after my judgment, is that which toucheth the education of the nobility, whom we see customably brought up in hunting and hawking, dicing and carding, eating and drinking, and, in conclusion, in all vain pleasure, pastime and vanity. And that only is thought to pertain to a gentleman, even as his proper fait,<sup>1</sup> office and duty, as though they were born thereto, and to nothing else in this world of nature brought forth.

*LUPSET*

Why, sir, I pray, what would you have them to do? Go to plough and to cart, or to serve some other craft to get their living by, as a thing required of necessity?

*POLE*

Master Lupset, what I would have them to do, now the place is not here to show and declare, which hereafter I will not omit. But that this they do it is certain, and to all men by experience known, which after mine opinion is no small destruction of our common weal that we now seek and desire to see stablished here in our country, for of this point hangeth a great part of the very wealth of the whole commonalty.

*LUPSET*

Surely this thing is amiss; wherefore, proceed you further. I will not repugn again so manifest a truth.

*POLE*

Another ill custom among the nobles there is: that every one of them will keep a court like a prince; every one will have a great idle

<sup>1</sup> activity

rout to wait upon him, to keep him company and pastime, as he that hath in himself no comfort at all, nor within his mind, heart and breast no cause of inward rejoicing, but hangeth only of outward vanity.

*LUPSET*

Sir, meseemeth you take this matter much amiss, for nowadays in this, as it is commonly judged, standeth the honour of England.

*POLE*

Nay, Master Lupset, truly to say, in this standeth the beggary of England, as we said before—specially if you consider what custom there is among them withal, both in their diet and their apparel. For if the nobles, yea and many of their servants, be not apparelled in silks and velvets, they think they lack much of their honour; and if they have not at dinner and supper twenty dishes of diverse meats, they lack they chief point that pertaineth to their honour, as they think, which is rise<sup>1</sup> and sprung of a long custom, noyful, without fail,<sup>2</sup> to the common weal many ways. For this excess in diet bringeth in manifold sickness and much misery, like as this pompous apparel doth induce much poverty. These are things as clear to all men as the light of the day. How think you, Master Lupset, is it not thus?

*LUPSET*

Truly these things I cannot deny, and specially this custom of nourishing such an idle train displeaseth me. It is a thing used in no country of the world, I trow. A knight or a mean gentleman shall have as many idle men here with us in England as shall in France, Spain or in Italy a great lord, signior of many towns and castles.

*POLE*

Why, but then some man peradventure would say and ax<sup>3</sup>: what do they then with their possessions and riches? Do they heap it togidder in coffers and corners, without applying it to any profit or use?

*LUPSET*

Nay, not so, sir, but they marry their childer and friends therewith, and so keep up the honour of their family thereby. You shall never

<sup>1</sup> risen

<sup>2</sup> unquestionably harmful

<sup>3</sup> ask

see none of any good family, as they do with us, go a-begging, or live in any great misery. They will suffer no such dishonour and shame. But with us it is contrary: I have known younger brethren go a-begging whereas the elder hath triumphed and lived in pleasure like a great prince of a country.

*POLE*

Truly this have I known also. Wherefore I cannot but laud that customs of strangers, and dispraise ours also which is so far from all good gentleness and humanity; of the which sort many other also be, but these now touched, as most general in the temporality.<sup>1</sup>

Let us, Master Lupset, now likewise look to the customs of the spirituality. How think you by the manner used with our bishops, abbots and priors, touching the nourishing also of a great sort of idle abbey-lubbers<sup>2</sup> which are apt to nothing but (as the bishops and abbots be) to eat and drink? Think you this a laudable custom, and to be admitted in any good policy?

*LUPSET*

Nay, surely, this I cannot allow: it is so evident a fault to every man's eye. For by this mean all the possessions of the Church are spent as ill as they possessions of temporal men, contrary to the institution of the law and all good civility.

*POLE*

And what think you\* by the manner of elections both of bishops, abbots and priors, which are made other by the prince or some other great man's authority? May this be allowed as a good custom in our country?

*LUPSET*

Sir, if the order of the law were observed therein, it were no fault, peradventure, at all, but were right well to be approved.

*POLE*

But now, you must remember, we speak not of the manner of the law, but of unreasonable customs which have more power than any law, after they be by long time confirmed and received commonly.

<sup>1</sup> laity

<sup>2</sup> louts

*LUPSET*

This custom undoubtedly is unreasonable, and great destruction of the good order in the Church riseth thereof.

*POLE*

There is another great faut, which is the ground of all other almost, and that is concerning the education of them which appoint themselves to be men of the Church. They are not brought up in virtue and learning, as they should be, nor well approved therein before they be admitted to such high dignity. It is not convenient, men without learning to occupy the place of them which should preach the Word of God and teach the people the laws of religion, of the which commonly they are most ignorant themselves, for commonly you shall find that they can nothing do but patter up<sup>1</sup> their matins and mass, mumbling up a certain number of words, nothing understand.

*LUPSET*

Sir, you say in this plain truth; I cannot nor will not this deny.

*POLE*

Yea, and yet another thing. Let it be that they priests were unlearned, yet if they were of perfit life and studious of virtue, that by their example they might teach other, this ignorance yet might be the better suffered; but now to that ignorance is joined all kind of vice, all mischief and vanity, insomuch that they are an example of all vicious life to the lay people. How say you,\* Master Lupset, is not this also a plain truth and manifest?

*LUPSET*

Yes, truly, insomuch that almost they infants born into the light perceive it plainly. There is no man that looketh into our manner of living that may doubt of this.

*POLE*

Master Lupset, you are in these matters very easy to persuade. You make no objections, after your manner in other things, wherefore I somewhat fear that we admit over-quickly these fauts in the Church for some private hate that we bear again the priests and prelates therein.

<sup>1</sup> mutter mechanically

### LUPSET

Sir, fear you nothing that matter, for I promise you I will and do ponder our manners without affection or hate, but as near as I can with indifferent judgment look unto them.

### POLE

And as for this ignorance and vicious life of the clergy, no man can it deny but he that, perverting the order of all things, will take vice for virtue, and virtue for vice. And thought it be so that the temporality live much after the same trade,<sup>1</sup> yet meseemeth they are not so much to be blamed as they which for the purity of life are called spiritual, forasmuch as they should be the light, as it is said in the Gospel, unto the other, and not only by word, but much more by example of life, whereby chiefly they should induce the rude people to the train of virtue. Wherefore surely this is no small fault in our custom of life; to the which we may join also another ill custom, that priests be not resident upon their benefices but other be in the Court or in great men's houses, there taking their pleasure, by the reason whereof they people lack their pastors, which gadder the wool diligently without regard of the profit of their sheep.

### LUPSET

Sir, this is as clear as the light of the sun, wherefore I will not repugn therein. But I would wish that you might as easily hereafter see the way to amend such fault, as we may see it.

### POLE

As touching that we shall see, Master Lupset, hereafter. Howbeit, as you said before, it is without fail more easy to spy ten faults than to amend one; and yet, two things it is to correct<sup>2</sup> and\* amend errors in deed, and to show the manner and mean how they should be reformed and amended. For as the one is full of hardness and difficulty, and, by the providence of God, put only in the power of princes of the world, so the other is facile and easy, and open to every prudent man and politic; like as to show the passage and way through rough and asper<sup>3</sup> mountains is not hard nor full of difficulty, but to pass the same is no small labour, travail and pain.

But now, this set apart, Master Lupset, let us go forth and search

<sup>1</sup> manner

<sup>2</sup> correct

<sup>3</sup> harsh



out other ill customs (if we remember any) here in our country. And herein methinketh it is an ill custom in our Church used, that as divine service is said and sung after such manner as it is commonly: as first, that it is openly rehearsed in a strange tongue, nothing of the people understand,<sup>1</sup> by the reason whereof the people taketh not that truth that they might and ought to receive, if it were rehearsed in our vulgar tongue. Second, touching the singing thereof, they use a fashion more convenient to minstrels than to devout ministers of the divine service, for plainly, as it is used, this is truth (specially considering the words be so strange and so diversely descanted<sup>2</sup>): it is more to the outward pleasure of the year, and vain recreation, than to the inward comfort of the heart and mind, with good devotion. How say you, Master Lupset, is it not thus as I do say?

#### LUPSET

Sir, in this matter somewhat I marvel what you mean, for you seem to allow by your communication the Lutherans' manner, whom I understand to have changed this fashion long used in the Church. They have their service, such as it is, all in their vulgar tongue openly rehearsed. I would not that we should follow their steps. They are ill masters to be followed in good policy. But methink, by this manner, you would also have the Gospel and all the spiritual law put into our tongue; and so by that mean you should see as many errors among us here in England as be now in Almain among the Lutherans, in short space. Wherefore, Master Pole, I think it is better to keep our old fashion both in divine service and in keeping the law in a strange tongue, than by such new manner to bring in among us any diversity of sects in religion.

#### POLE

Master Lupset, I see well in this you will not be so soon persuaded as in other things before you were. You are, meseemeth, afear'd lest we should follow the steps of these Lutherans, which are fallen into many errors and great confusion by this mean, as you think, and new alteration. But here, Master Lupset, first you shall be sure of this. I will not follow the steps of Luther, whose judgment I exteem very little; and yet he and his disciples be not so wicked and foolish that in all things they err. Heretics be not in all things heretics. Wherefore I

<sup>1</sup> understood

<sup>2</sup> sung in descant

will not so abhor their heresy that for the hate thereof I will fly from the truth.

I allow this manner of saying of service not because they say and affirm it to be good and laudable, but because the truth is so, as it appeareth to me, and the fruit thereof so manifest; which you shall also confess, I think, if you will consider indifferently the matter a little with me. And first, this is certain and sure: that the divine service was ordained to be said in the Church for the edifying of the people, that they, hearing the words of the Gospel and the examples of holy saints, professors of Christ's name and doctrine, might thereby be stirred and moved to follow their steps, and be put in remembrance thereby of the living and doctrine of our Master Christ, His apostles and disciples, as the chief thing of all other to be printed and graved in all good and Christian hearts. Wherefore, if this be true, as I think you cannot deny, this followeth of necessity: that we must other have the divine service to be said in our own tongue commonly, or else to provide some mean that all the people may understand the Latin conveniently, which I think surely was the purpose of the Romans, when they first institute all divine service to be rehearsed in that tongue, even like as it was of the Normans at such time when they ordained all our common laws in the French tongue to be taught and disputed. But now, Master Lupset, seeing that this is not convenient and scant<sup>1</sup> possible as the state standeth, I think it is both necessary and expedient to have rehearsed this divine service in our own vulgar tongue; yea, and also, touching the Gospel, to have it wholly in our tongue to be converted I think of all most expedient and necessary. For what reason is it, men to be bounden to a law, and to look thereof not only the fruit that is of other common laws, as civil concord here in this life, and politic justice and unity, but also for everlasting life and perpetual joy hereafter to be had by the observation thereof, and by the breaking and transgression of the same, perpetual damnation; and yet to have it closed in a strange tongue, as they people were nothing bounden thereto, nor to them written? I trow this be no reason, but plain madness and folly. It is necessary, as I said before of the common law, to have it converted into our tongue, but of the Gospel surely it is much more necessary and much more expedient—so that it were well translated and by wise counsel examined, that there be no errors therein.

<sup>1</sup> barely

For as touching the errors that men run in nowadays, undoubtedly it is not by the reason of the Gospel put into the vulgar tongue, but rather for lack of good teachers and instructors therein. Wherefore, that thing which cometh partly by the malice of man and partly for lack of good policy is in no case to be attributed to the Gospel justly, except we will attribute the cause of war to weapon, and the cause of all diseases to meat and drink, and so utterly therefore cast away both weapon and meat and drink. It is a common fault in reasoning to lay a fault thereas none is, and to note many things as causes which indeed are not at all, as, after my mind, in this our purpose you do, Master Lupset. For surely this diversity of opinion nowadays reigning is nothing to be attributed to the communing of the Gospel in the vulgar tongue. Of this doubt you no more.

Wherefore let us without fear confess this to be a great fault and an ill custom used in our Church, that we have not the Gospels in our mother tongue, and that we have our service said in a strange tongue, of the people not understand; and much more the manner of singing, which all holy doctors reprov'd in their time, when it was not so curious<sup>1</sup> as it is now. Do no more but think if Saint Augustine, Jerome or Ambrose heard our curious descanting and cantering<sup>2</sup> in churches, what they would say. Surely they would cry out upon them and drive them out of churches to taverns, comedies and common plays, and say they were nothing meet to kindle and stir Christian hearts to devotion and love of celestial things, but rather to stir wanton minds to vain pleasure and wordly pastime, with vanity. Of this, Master Lupset, after my mind, there is no more doubt: how think you now?

### LUPSET

Sir, your communication hath brought me to a deep consideration, whereby truly I perceive well that many things here in man's life, after they be used and by common opinion many years admitted, though they be never so repugnant to reason and good humanity, yet to pluck them out of men's hearts and minds it is hard and full of great difficulty; insomuch that all reason to the contrary<sup>3</sup> a great while shall appear no reason at all,<sup>4</sup> as in this example we may take manifest experience. For undoubtedly reason concludeth both necessary and expedient to be, to have all laws in the vulgar tongue, as it hath been

<sup>1</sup> elaborate

<sup>2</sup> arguments against them

<sup>3</sup> chanting

<sup>4</sup> entirely unreasonable

always to this day used in all other countries and well-institute common weals, as in Rome, Athens and Lacedamonia. And yet our people, being long customed<sup>1</sup> to the contrary, will not only think it strange and erroneous, but also at the first beginning shall judge all religion to be turned thereby up so down, yea and utterly destroyed. Such is their blindness and folly, only by long time rooted in heart.

Notwithstanding, Master Pole, I think now to us, which seek the mean most convenient to restore the perfit state before of you described, it must needs appear necessary to have all laws, both of religion, and civil and politic, in our mother tongue converted, and all divine service both to be said and sung in the same in every church commonly. And so consequently I am agreed with you to take this as an ill custom repugning to our purpose, to have all closed in this strange tongue of the old Romans, or rather of other barbarous people which succeeded them.

#### POLE

Master Lupset, you say well. But how say you by the privileges which partly by laws and partly by long prescription of time and custom are given to the Church and ecclesiastical persons? Think you that this is convenient, that priests should never for no offence be called before a secular judge and punished temporally,<sup>2</sup> if they\* offend in such fauts as require temporal punishment, as robbery, murder and theft, and such other like cases?

#### LUPSET

Sir, I would something should be given to the dignity of priesthood, and that they should not be punished with so great severity as other be.

#### POLE

I wot not what you mean by your giving somewhat to the dignity of priesthood. Would you that thereby they should escape punishment rather than other? Meseemeth, contrary, if they do amiss, they should be more punished, and rather than other, forasmuch as the fault in them is more grievous than it is in other. And so by that mean they should be compelled at the least by fear of punishment (whereas by love they cannot be induced) to do that thing wherein standeth the

<sup>1</sup> accustomed

<sup>2</sup> by the temporal authorities

very dignity of priesthood, and so to be worthy to be honoured indeed. For this is sure: that only for their virtue they should be honoured, and thereby from the common people, as it were, exempted;<sup>1</sup> which if they follow, the people shall give them gladly all worthy honours and nourish them with their labours and travail, in great quietness and tranquillity. And this exemption indeed is to be given to the dignity of priesthood, and not that they may have liberty, without punishment, to offend all laws freely. For by this mean, as meseemeth, all the dignity of priesthood is utterly decayed, forasmuch as, by the reason of such privilege granted of princes to the dignity of them, every lewd<sup>2</sup> fellow nowadays and idle lubber that can other read or sing maketh himself priest, not for any love of religion, but forbecause under the pretence thereof they may abase themself in all vain lusts and vanity, without punishment or reprove<sup>3</sup> of any degree; such is their privilege and exemption. How say you,\* Master Lupset, is it not thus?

#### LUPSET

Sir, I cannot tell what I shall say—your reasons are so probable, specially considering that among themselves and in their spiritual courts they have no punishment determed by law convenient to such fauts and crimes of them committed; which if they had, yet methink it should be more convenient that their causes should be entreated before their own judges. But now, seeing they are over-favorable<sup>4</sup> therein, I cannot but confessth is privilege to be pernicious, specially in such a multitude of ribauds<sup>5</sup> as be nowadays in the order of priesthood. Such privilege at the first beginning of the Church, when priests were perfit and pure of life, were very expedient and, briefly to say, no less than they be now disconvenient.

#### POLE

And what think you by exemption of religious houses and colleges from their bishops to the See of Rome? Is this reasonable?

#### LUPSET

Sir, if they bishops did no office therein according to the order of the law (as they do not, wherein lieth a great faut also, as it is open to every man's eyes), that thing were undoubtedly to be reproved; but

<sup>1</sup> separated

<sup>4</sup> lenient

<sup>2</sup> ignorant

<sup>3</sup> reproof

<sup>5</sup> ribald

as the world is, I cannot mislike that at all, for though they be not well, yet they be in better case than they other.

*POLE*

This is enough, that you grant both to be naught.

*LUPSET*

That cannot be denied.

*POLE*

And what think you by privileges granted to churches and all saintuaries?<sup>1</sup> Can you judge them to be convenient? Think you that it is well, a man when he hath committed wilful murder or outrageous robbery, or of purpose deceived his creditors, to run to they saintuary with all his goods and there to live quietly, enjoying all quietness and pleasure? This thing, meseemeth, is a plain occasion of all mischief and misery, and causeth much murder in our country and nation. For who will be afear'd to kill his enemy if he may be saved by the privilege of saintuary?

*LUPSET*

Sir, to defend this methink there is no reason. Howbeit, for the safeguard<sup>2</sup> of man's life, I think it good that such holy places should have privilege at the least that his enemy may not pluck him out at his liberty, nor yet in such place to venge<sup>3</sup> his injury.

*POLE*

Well, Master Lupset, as touching that, we shall see in his place. It is enough now that you see great disorder therein.

*LUPSET*

Yes, surely, that is no doubt.

*POLE*

Thus, Master Lupset, you have now heard such misorders as come to my remembrance now at this time, both concerning our common laws and customs of our country, by the reason whereof our common weal standeth not in the perfite state which we have before described.

<sup>1</sup> sanctuaries

<sup>2</sup> safeguard

<sup>3</sup> avenge

Wherefore because it is late we will now defer the rest of our communication till tomorrow, except you remember any other which we have not spoken of yet.

*LUPSET*

Sir, I think you have noted the most general fauts concerning both laws and custom also. Howbeit, because we speak of custom, there cometh to my remembrance another ill custom concerning the thing which, by his proper name, we call Custom, and, I trow, riseth nother of law nor yet of reasonable custom. The thing is this—the great custom paid by marchands for bringing in of commodities to our ream. They pay over-much, by the reason whereof they have less will to travail for the commodity of the rest of the commons. Wherefore we lack many things that we might have, or at the least, much better cheap<sup>1</sup> than we have commonly.

*POLE*

Sir, this is truth that you say; but I trow this was noted at the least in general when we spake of the lack of things to be brought in by our merchants. Notwithstanding, it was well remembered. Wherefore, if you have any other of the same sort, present them to remembrance.

*LUPSET*

Sir, I remember none other now at this time, and if case be<sup>2</sup> that any come to my memory, it shall be nothing amiss to put them forth in our communication that we shall have tomorrow, when we shall speak of the restoring of these fauts rehearsed before.

*POLE*

Nay, Master Lupset, because this matter is great, let us defer it two or three days, that we come somewhat the better instruct to such a great cause.

*LUPSET*

Sir, you say well, and so let it be.

<sup>1</sup> more cheaply

<sup>2</sup> if it be the case

## CHAPTER 5

### POLE

Master Lupset, to show you in the beginning the difficulty of this day's communication I am sure it needeth nothing at all, which oft-times have before had in your mouth this saying (which today we shall perceive truth): that much easier it is to spy a hundred fauts in a common weal than to amend one, even like as it is in man's body of corporal diseases, they which of every man may well be perceived, but of every man they cannot be cured. Wherefore, Master Lupset, if we have put any diligence before in searching out the nature of a true common weal, and they lacks and fauts thereof in ours, we must now this day put much more, forasmuch as the process of our communication hitherto is but of little or no value, except we find out convenient remedies prudently to be applied to such sores and diseases in our politic body before noted in yesterday's communication.

Therefore, Master Lupset, methink we shall do well if in our first beginning we call to Him Who, by His incomparable goodness and incomprehensible wisdom, made, governeth and ruleth all things, that it may please Him so by His Holy Spirit, from Whom to mankind cometh all goodness, virtue and grace, to illuminate and light our hearts and minds (which without Him can no truth perceive) that we may see the convenient mean of restoring to this politic body his perfit state and common wealth of us before described, which if we desire with pure affect and ardent mind I doubt nothing but we shall it obtain.

### LUPSET

Sir, you say right well; for if the old writers and poets in describing of stories and other their fancies, calling to the Muses and to their gods, thought thereby to obtain some sprite,<sup>1</sup> succour and aid, to the furthering<sup>2</sup> of their purpose, how much more ought we of the Christian flock, in such a great cause which to our whole nation may be so profitable, surely to trust of succour and aid, specially considering the promise of God made to us His faithful and approved<sup>3</sup> people, which in His Gospel hath promised to us surely to obtain whatsoever we ax

<sup>1</sup> inspiration

<sup>2</sup> furthering

<sup>3</sup> tested



of His Father in His Name; that is to say, whatsoever undoubtedly shall redound to His very glory and true honour.

*POLE*

Master Lupset, that is well admonished of you. Wherefore, Master Lupset, let us now take this occasion which now is present. Here in this chapel by and by shall be a mass said in the honour of the Holy Ghost, the which we may first hear, and with pure heart and affect call for that light of the Holy Spirit without the which man's heart is blind and ignorant of all virtue and truth.

*LUPSET*

Master Pole, so let it be; and then after mass we may return to this place again, as I trust, lighted with some celestial light to furnish our profitable communication this day institute.

*POLE*

Now, Master Lupset, sin<sup>1</sup> we have heard mass, and after that (as I trust) we have conceived some sparkle of the celestial light, let us first briefly declare the order and process of that which we will talk of this day, that our communication may not utterly be spent in wandering words and wavering sentence.

*LUPSET*

Sir, that is well said, for, after mine opinion, all obscurity and darkness both in writing and in all communication springeth thereof.

*POLE*

Sir, in this process we will take nature for our example, and as near as we can follow her steps which, in the generation of the nature of man, first formeth his body with all convenient instruments to the setting forth of the natural beauty convenient to the same, and after, putteth in the precious and divine nature of the soul—a sparkle of the godly and eternal reason. So, first we will (receiving of nature the matter thereof) form and adorn this politic body with all things convenient and expedient to the same, and then, secondarily, entreat and touch all such things as pertaineth to the politic governance of the

<sup>1</sup> since

same body; this general rule of expert physicians in curing of bodily diseases as much as we can ever observing—that is to say, first to ensearch out the cause of the diseases, without the which the applying of remedies little availeth.

*LUPSET*

Sir, this order liketh me well, which agreeth much with our process before taken; for even like as we have, observing this order, found out the misorders in our commonalty, so it is very convenient by the same order to reason of the remedies expedient for the same.

*POLE*

Well, Master Lupset, then let us proceed. First, if you remember, after that we had declared what it is that we call the true common weal, and after began to search out such common fauts and lacks as we could find in our country concerning the same, we agreed that we have, considering the place and fertility thereof, great lack of people, the multitude whereof is, as it were, the ground and foundation of this our common weal; the which lack we called, as it were, a consumption of the politic body, of the which now first is required to ensearch out the cause—the which, Master Lupset, shall not be hard for to do.

For this is a necessary truth: inasmuch as man groweth not out of rocks nor of trees, as fables do feign, but springeth by natural generation, this lack must needs come as of a principal cause, that man doth not apply their study to natural procreation. For though it be so that many other exterior causes may be thereof, as battle and pestilence, hunger and dearth, which have in too many countries brought penury of people, as we may by experience see in many countries desolate thereby; yet now, to our purpose, the principal cause of our lack of people cannot be attribute thereto. And yet, if percase<sup>1</sup> it were so in deed, the way and mean to suffice, multiply and increase them again to a convenient number is only natural generation. This may not be in any case denied. How say you, Master Lupset, is it not so?

*LUPSET*

Sir, this is no doubt: this is the only way to increase not only man by the course of nature but all other living creatures here upon earth which are not gendered by putrefaction.

<sup>1</sup> perchance

## POLE

Well, Master Lupset, then we must now devise the mean for the removing of such impediments and lets as be to this cause, and so to allure man to this natural procreation, after a civil order and politic fashion. For though nature hath given to man, as to all other beasts, natural inclination to his increase, yet because man is only born to civility and politic rule, therefore he may not without order or respect study to the satisfaction of this natural affect. And for this cause it hath been ordained, I trow, from the first generation of man, that he should couple himself in lawful matrimony, and so thereby multiply and increase. So that this remaineth, Master Lupset, in this matter now specially to us, having the light of Christ's Gospel, to devise some way to entice man to this lawful marriage and coupling togidder.

Wherefore, Master Lupset, this you shall understand and take as a ground for the rest of all our communication of this day following: that if man would follow ever right reason and the judgment thereof, remembering alway the excellence and dignity of his nature, it should be nothing hard to bring man without many laws to true civility; it should be nothing hard to remedy all such fauts as we have before found in our commonalty. But, Master Lupset, this hath been tried by process of thousands of years, this hath been concluded by the most wise and politic men: that man by instruction and gentle exhortation cannot be brought to his perfection. Wherefore it was necessary to descend to the constitution and ordinance of laws civil and politic, that whereas man, blinded by affects and vanities thereof, would not follow the trade of right reason, he should at the least by fear of punishment be constrained to occupy himself and apply his mind to such things as were convenient to his excellent nature and dignity, and so at the last, by long custom, be induced to follow and do that thing for the love of virtue which before he did only for fear of the punishment prescribed by the law. This is the end and virtue of all law, this is the fruit that cometh thereof, that man, customed other for fear of pain or desire of reward, might follow the prescription and ordinance thereof, and so, finally, only for love follow virtue and fly from vice as that thing which, if there were no pain prescribed by law, yet he would abhor as a thing contrary to the nature of man and to his dignity. This thing, Master Lupset, which briefly I have touched, if all men could perceive, as I said before, it should be little need of many laws. But forbecause the multitude of men be so corrupt, frail and

blinded with pestilent affects, we must consider the imbecility of them and weakness of mind, and apply our remedy according thereto, following the example of expert physicians, which are constrained to work in their science according to the nature of their patients. This we must now do, and hereafter also in the rest of our communication, ever studying some mean to allure the gross and rude people to the following of that which we shall judge necessary to be done for the conservation of good civility. As now, to return to our purpose again, seeing that matrimony is the only or chief mean politic to increase this multitude to a just number again, we must both by privilege and pain induce men thereto, and study to take away all obstacles and lets which we find thereto; in the which thing, Master Lupset, let me hear somewhat of your mind.

#### LUPSET

Sir, because you will so, this I shall say as touching the obstacles and lets whereof you speak. You put me in remembrance of a thing which to you I dare speak, for I wot not whether I may speak this abroad—but in that I submit myself to your judgment. The thing is this: I have thought long and many a day a great let to the increase of Christian people the law of chastity ordained by the Church, which bindeth so great a multitude of men to live thereafter, as all secular priests, monks, freres, chanons and nuns, of the which as you know there is no small number, by the reason whereof the generation of man is marvellously let and minished. Wherefore, except<sup>1</sup> the ordinance of the Church were (to the which I would never gladly rebel), I would plainly judge that it should be very convenient something to release the band of this law, specially considering the difficulty of that great virtue, in a manner above nature; for the which, as I think, our Master Christ did not bind us thereto by his precept and commandment, but left it to our arbitrament whether we would study to strive again nature, whose instinct only by special grace we may overcome. Wherefore it appeareth to me to release this law very necessary.

#### POLE

Well, Master Lupset, this which you say is not all without reason. Wherefore, notwithstanding there be great arguments of the contrary part, yet because we will not (as many physicians do, which while they

<sup>1</sup> but for

dispute of the disease let their patients die) so now in this place when we seek remedy consume the time in argumentation, but briefly therein show you mine opinion, which much agreeth unto you.

For this I think, Master Lupset, to be a plain truth: that even like as this order of chastity at the beginning of the Church and setting forth of Christ's religion was for that time very expedient and necessary, so for this time, all circumstance considered, it is no less convenient the rigour of the same somewhat to release. For this is the nature of all man's ordinance and civil law, that according to the time, person and place they be variable, and ever require prudent correction and due reformation, wherefore in this matter I think it were necessary to temper this law, and at the least to give and admit all secular priests to marry at their liberty, considering now the great multitude and number of them.

But as touching monks, chanons, freres and nuns, I hold for a thing very convenient and meet, in all well-ordained common weals to have certain monasteries and abbeys to the which all such as, after lawful prove<sup>1</sup> of chastity before had, may retire, and from the business and vanity of the world may withdraw themselves, wholly giving their minds to prayer, study and high contemplation. This occasion<sup>2</sup> I would not have to be taken away from Christian policy, which is a great comfort to many feeble and weary souls which have been oppressed with wordly vanity.

But as touching the secular priests, I utterly agree with you, and so that obstacle to take away which letteth by many ways the increase of our people—as many other things do more also, among the which another chief, after my mind, is this: the great multitude of serving-men which in service spend their life, never finding mean to marry conveniently, but live alway as common corrupters of chastity. Wherefore there would be, as I think, an ordinance that no gentlemen nor other of the nobility take to his service greater number of men than he is able to promote and set forward to some honest fashion of living, and lawful matrimony; and so by this mean the multitude of them should be minished greatly. And forbecause that many there be now which cannot find good occasion of marriage because of poverty, and lack of art and craft to live, I would think convenient, forasmuch as we have many wilds and wastes in our country, that the prince and other noblemen should build them houses in places convenient,

<sup>1</sup> proof

<sup>2</sup> opportunity

appointing thereto certain portion of their waste grounds, forests and parks whereof they take little or no profit at all, and give such tenements to their servants, their heirs and assigns, paying yearly a little portion as a chief rent<sup>1</sup> and recognisance of their lord. By the which mean, as I think, they great number of them would be glad to set themself to matrimony, and so we should not only have the people increased in number but also the waste grounds well occupied and tilled, which is in our country, as we have said before, a great rudeness and faut.

This thing should much entice men to marriage, specially if we gave unto them also certain privileges and prerogative, after the manner of the old and wise Romans, as, to all such as by matrimony increased the people with five childer, that they should pay nother task nor tallage,<sup>2</sup> except he were worth a hundred marks in goods; nor he should not be constrained to go forth to war, except he would of his own voluntary will—with such other like immunities and privileges as may easily be found. And not only after this manner allure them to the procreation of childer, but also certain pains prescribing to them which from matrimony for their pleasure would abstain. As, first, they should ever lack all such honour and existimation<sup>3</sup> as is given to married men, and never to bear office in their city or town where they abide; and beside this meseemeth it were a convenient pain, that every bachelor, according to the portion of goods and lands, should yearly pay a certain sum, as it were, of every pound twelve pence which yearly cometh in other by fee, wages or land, and every man that is worth in movable goods above five pounds, of every pound, three-pence; the which sum should ever be reserved in a common place, to be distributed partly to them which have more childer than they are able to nourish and partly to the dot<sup>4</sup> of poor damosels and virgins. And if case be that they which thus abstain utterly from marriage die in that manner, they should be constrained by order of the law to leave the one half of all their goods to be distributed after the manner before prescribed, and priests the whole—ever provision made that nothing should be alienate to the fraud of the law. And so after this mean I think in few years the people should increase to a notable number. This I judge among other to be a singular remedy for the sklenderness of our politic body. How say you, Master Lupset, is it not so?

<sup>1</sup> quit-rent

<sup>2</sup> tribute

<sup>3</sup> esteem

<sup>4</sup> dowry

## LUPSET

Yes, truly; I think it were alone sufficient.

## POLE

Then, Master Lupset, now consequently we must seek remedy to the second disease that we spake of before, which we resembled to a dropsy. For though this body be weak, sklender and lacketh natural strength, yet it is bollen<sup>1</sup> and swollen out with ill humours, the which we called before, by a similitude, all idle persons. This disease if we will cure, we must, as you know, remove the cause, or else it will ever multiply and increase again. And, shortly to say, the cause principal thereof, after my mind, is the ill and idle bringing up o. youth here in our country, which are moved thereto with the hope of pleasant living in service with the nobility, spiritual and temporal; for man naturally ever desireth pleasure and quietness. Wherefore an ordinance would be made, that every man, under a certain pain, after he hath brought his childer to seven year of age, should set them forth other to letters or to a craft, according as their nature requireth, after the judgment and power of their friends; of the which matter also the curate of every parish should chiefly have cure, as to one of the principal things pertaining unto his office and duty. And, as I said before, also this hope in living in service with the nobility must be cut away by the law before rehearsed, that no man should nourish greater number than he is able to nourish well, and find to them some honest livings. That law shall help much to this our purpose now, and be the occasion of maintaining of arts and crafts; wherein also I would think it expedient that whosoever were in any science or craft noble and excellent, he should by the liberality of the prince be rewarded therefore, according to the excellency and dignity of his craft—the which thing undoubtedly would encourage base stomachs to endeavour themselves diligently to attain in all arts and craft great singularity.<sup>2</sup>

And this were also very convenient, that if any man had no craft at all, but, delighting in idleness, as a drone bee doth in a hive, sucketh up the honey, that he should be banished and driven out of the city, as a person unprofitable to all good civility. Thus did the Athenians, which would suffer no man to abide in their city except he professed some honest craft, or could make a lawful reckoning how he lived in their commonalty, and of this thing also the officers in every city

<sup>1</sup> puffed up

<sup>2</sup> distinction

chiefly should take regard, and in the country, the curate of the town with the gentleman chief lord of the same, which in his courts should examine this matter with great diligence and care, as a thing which is the ground of all the whole common weal. For little availeth it to increase the number of people, except provision be made to take away this idleness and great dropsy. How say you, Master Lupset; think you not thus?

#### *LUPSET*

Herein, sir, you say right well. Howbeit, this is a very short remedy; you must show somewhat more at large how the youth should be brought up in arts and crafts more particularly.

#### *POLE*

Nay, sir, not so. That is not my purpose here now to do, for it were need then, of every cure almost for to write a whole book. I will only touch, as I said before, the most general points, and the rest leave to the cure of them which in every cause have order and rule, whose prudence and policy shall ever see, according to the time and place of everything pertaining to their office, the particular remedy. But of this we may be assured: that if these general things before spoken were put in use and effect, they should much remedy this foul ill and great dropsy.

Let us therefore proceed to the other next in order to this ensuing, which, I trow, we called a palsy, forasmuch as many there be which occupy themselves busily but to no profit of the commonalty, of the which a great number we reckoned then, as all such which occupied themselves about vain pleasures and nothing necessary, as merchants thereof and craftsmen, singers and players upon instruments, living thereby; yea, and also a great number of these which we call religious men, and be not indeed.

The remedy whereof in general hangeth much of the remedy of the disease before, last rehearsed, forasmuch as the cause of the ill occupying of all such before noted is to satisfy the appetite of the idle rout. Wherefore, if they were well brought up without idleness, the root of this disease should be cut away withal: so they hang togidder. For who doth not see this, that all these marchands and artificers of vanity should utterly perish with their crafts, if they were not maintained by this idle sort which be they haunters of these vain pleasures and trifling



things? Wherefore if men were so brought up in youth, so instructed and formed in tender age, that they should not delight but in honest pleasures necessary and natural, this matter would soon be remedied. Therefore, as I said before, the heads, officers and rulers ever to this must have their eyes, to this they must study, for this good education of youth in virtuous exercise is the ground of the remedying all other diseases in this our politic body, even like as in the cure of the bodily diseases the correction of corrupt and indigest<sup>1</sup> humours is the chief point in the cure of them all, as the thing without the which all other medecines little shall avail. Wherefore this is, as it were, the chief key whereby the rest of our song must be governed and ruled, and so in this all diligence is required.

Howbeit, forbecause that man is so frail and given to pleasure, beside this education it shall be necessary to have some other laws for the correction of this fault than be yet stablished. As, for example, this I think should be nothing amiss: first, a ordinance to be had, that merchants out of strange countries be commanded under a certain pain not to bring in any such thing as shall allure our people to vain pleasure and pastime; among the which this great abundance of wine brought in is no small occasion of much hurt, by many ways, as it is more evident than needeth to be showed. Wherefore, among the merchants an ordinance should be had to bring in only a certain<sup>2</sup> for the pleasure of noblemen and them which be of power; and so in this point, shortly to say, this should also be comprehended, that merchants should carry out only such things as we have great abundance of, and bring in again things necessary only, or, at the least, such things as shall be for the maintenance of honest pleasure, and such as cannot be made by the art, labour and diligence of our own people. This should minister a great occasion to occupy better our idle rout than we spake of before.

And, further, for the taking away of these ill-occupied persons in vain crafts, the same officers in every town which shall see that there be no idle persons without craft or mean to get their living shall also take heed that they occupy no vain and unprofitable craft to the common weal. These officers shall be as the Censors were in the old time at Rome, which shall see to these matters as well as to the number and to the substance of people. To them it shall pertain also to oversee the education of youth. To their cure shall be committed the redress of many great diseases in this politic body. But of this hereafter in his

<sup>1</sup> crude

<sup>2</sup> a certain quantity

place, when we come to speak of the politic order. And by this mean I think we should help much to the good occupying of our people in honest and profitable crafts to the common weal.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, of this there is no doubt but that these ordinance should be very profitable. But yet you have left the one half of the ill-occupied persons, and nothing touched them at all. That is to say, these religious persons in monasteries and abbeys.

#### *POLE*

Surely you say truth. Of them there is a great number and unprofitable. But, Master Lupset, as touching them, as I said before, I would not that these religious men with their monasteries should utterly be take away, but only some good reformation to be had of them. And, shortly to say, I would think (in that behalf chiefly) this to be a good remedy: that youth should have no place therein at all, but only such men as, by fervent love of religion moved thereto, flying the dangers and snares of the world, should there have place. And if that gap were once stopped, I dare well say their number would not be over-great; we should have fewer in number religious men, but better in life. But here is not the place of them, nor to show their reformation, the which shall be hereafter when we shall speak of the reforming of the fauts of the spirituality. I cannot tell how you brought them in and numbered them among idle and ill-occupied persons. Howbeit, to say the truth, they are nother idle, as they say, nother yet well-occupied. But howsoever it be, their proper place is not here in this purpose.

And therefore we will defer this matter, and so go forth to the next disease and cure thereof ensuing to this now spoken of last; and that was, as I remember, which we then called a pestilence reigning in this politic body, by the reason whereof they parts were not well knit togidder, but dissevered asunder, no part doing his proper office and duty. This is and ever hath been the greatest destruction that ever came to any common weal. This is the ground of all ruin of policy, whereof the country of Italy is in our days most manifest example, whereas by discord and division among themselves is brought in much misery and confusion. Wherefore of this thing above all other most cure must be had; but, Master Lupset, here you must understand that

even as in the body of man many diseases, as physicians do say, spring of the mind and of the affects thereof, so in this politic body a great part of the misorders therein riseth of that thing which we resembled to the mind in man—that is, politic rule and civil order; among the misorders whereof, this pestilence is one of the chief. Wherefore this is certain: here is not the place of his perfit cure, but rather, to say the truth, the cure thereof is sparkled in<sup>1</sup> the cure of all other. Howbeit, some peculiar things pertain thereto, as we shall partly show now and partly hereafter.

And first, for this place, seeing the cause of this disease riseth chiefly for lack of common justice and equity (that one part hath too much and another too little of all such thing as equally should be distributed according to the dignity of all the citizens) therefore above all thing regard must be had of the prince and of them which be in office and authority, chiefly to see that all such thing may be distribute with a certain equality—but how this shall be done, hereafter we shall per-aventure somewhat show.

But now, to keep this body knit togidder in unity, provision would be made by common law and authority that every part may exercise his office and duty—that is to say, every man in his craft and faculty<sup>2</sup> to meddle<sup>3</sup> with such thing as pertaineth thereto, and intermeddle not with other; for this causeth much malice, envy and debate both in city and town, that one man meddleth in the craft and mystery<sup>4</sup> of other. One is not content with his own profession, craft and manner of living, but ever when he seeth another more rich than he and live at more pleasure, then he despiseth his own faculty, and so applieth himself unto the other. Wherefore, a certain pain must be ordered and appointed upon every man that contenteth not himself with his own mystery, craft and faculty; whereby much should be restrained this curiosity, a great ruin and destruction to all good and just policy.

Moreover, to all seditious persons that openly despise this order, unity and concord whereby the parts of this body are, as it were, with sinews and nerves knit togidder, perpetual banishment or rather, death, must be by law prescribed, as to a corrupt member of the body, and so to be cut off for fear lest it should infect the rest, corrupting the whole. And so this compelling of every man to do his office and duty, with distributing to every man (according to his virtue and dignity) such

<sup>1</sup> involved in

<sup>2</sup> trade

<sup>3</sup> occupy himself

<sup>4</sup> trade

things as be to be divided among the citizens with equity, shall conserve much this body in unity and concord, and, I think, by process of time utterly take away this pestilent disease and division.

Howbeit, as I said before, the perfit cure thereof riseth and springeth of the cure of all other particular misorders in policy, forasmuch as this is, as it were, a general ruin of all civil order and politic rule. Therefore, Master Lupset, let us go forward after this manner briefly to touch the cure of other, by the reason whereof we more perfitly shall also cure this same pestilence so corrupting the body. Consequently to this, if you remember, Master Lupset, we found in this body a great deformity, the which, as we noted, riseth of the ill proportion of the parts, some being too great and some too little. As, by example the thing to declare, there be among us too few ploughmen and tillers of the ground, and too many courtiers and idle servants, too few artisans of good occupation, and too many priests and religious full of vain superstition; and thus of many other orders we might say. But the cause of this, to touch now to the purpose, after my mind is this: that every man naturally is given to follow pleasure, quietness and ease, by the reason whereof the most part fly to the most easy craft, and to such whereof is most hope specially of gain, by the which they may ever their pleasure sustain. Wherefore, to correct this fault, briefly to say, this must be (as it appeareth to me) a chief mean: in every craft, art and science some to appoint (expert in the same) to admit youth to the exercise thereof, not suffering every man without respect to apply themselves to every craft and faculty.

This remedy is in few words spoken, but truly, if it were put in use, it should not only bring in the beauty of this politic body, but also, almost perfit felicity. These officers which should be appointed to this, of whom I will speak more hereafter, should admit none, als near as they can, to any faculty but such wits as be apt thereto; as, by example, to be priests, clerks and learned in the law such only should be admitted as have elect<sup>1</sup> wits, and be of nature meet thereunto. And so, like, of other. And then you should see how by diligent oversight,<sup>2</sup> also, that every man should apply himself to his mystery and craft, or else by the officers to be excluded and appointed to other. And so shortly should grow a marvellous beauty in this politic body, and this deformity and ill proportion of parts should be by this manner well taken away.

<sup>1</sup> chosen for their excellence

<sup>2</sup> overseeing

## LUPSET

Sir, this were a profitable ordinance, as it seemeth to me. For by this mean, also, we should have in every art, science and craft more excellent men than we have now, when no man should apply themselves to the same but such only as be judged by nature apt thereunto; for in that thing only men profit commonly, whereto of nature they be inclined freely. This thing, I trow, yet was never put in execution in no common weal universally. But truly methink it should be cause of manifold profit, more than I can now express.

## POLE

Well, Master Lupset, let the effect prove as it shall please Him who governeth all; and let us proceed further in our process.

We noted also a great weakness in this body, insomuch that we thought it was not well able to defend itself from outward enemies; the cause whereof, of the which we must begin, chiefly is this, as it seemeth to me: that the nobility, with their servants and adherents, are not exercised in feat of arms and chivalry, but give themselves to idle games, as dicing and carding, with such other vanity; to the which ensueth by necessity this great weakness of the chief part of the body. Wherefore there must be a prohibition set out by common authority, first, from all such unprofitable games and idle exercises to be occupied commonly, and the nobility must be constrained by lawful punishment to exercise themselves in all such things and feats of arms as shall be for the defence of our ream necessary; the which they should do with the same diligence that the ploughmen labour and till the ground for the common food.

And in this matter it were very necessary also, in every city and good town to have a common place appointed to the exercise of youth, wherein they might at void<sup>1</sup> times exercise themselves; the which among the Romans was a common thing, and yet is observed among the Swisses; which, I think, hath been the greatest cause of their great fame in deeds of arms. Yea, and moreover, in the villages of the country, when the people are assembled togidder, such exercise also would not be forgot. But how, in what mean, and in what exercise men should thus occupy themselves, that we shall leave to be prescribed of them which be expert in feats of arms, and have been in youth exercised therein. To us it is sufficient in general somewhat to

<sup>1</sup> leisure

open and show the way; for of this thing many years there hath been no regard at all here in our country. Wherefore our people be not now valiant in feats of arms as they have been in time past, but, given to pleasure, letteth the world pass in idleness and vanity. But this is sure and certain: there is no less cure to be had of this matter than of civil law and order in time of peace, forasmuch as without war we never continue many years, and so shall be in danger of losing of our country without this provision. Therefore above all we must study to restore this politic body to his old power and strength, and by such exercise remove this imbecility and weakness from the same—the which if we do, we shall have our body of our people healthy and strong, able to defend itself from all outward injury.

And so now you have heard, Master Lupset, certain remedies for the most common diseases in this politic body before noted, which if they be well applied shall marvellously dispose the parts also to receive cure and remedy of the particular diseases reigning therein, which ever spring out of the general, as you shall perceive in our communication hereafter, when over-more<sup>1</sup> the ground of the cure shall be drawn out of these of the which now we have spoken. For even like as the sickness of the parts for the most springeth of some disorder in the whole body, so they cure of the same must be taken out of the cure of the whole.

### *LUPSET*

Sir, this I see right well: that, even as you say, these general things well remedied should shortly bring in good order in the parts. Wherefore methink you pass them over-shortly; I would that you should have showed somewhat more at large and particularly the mean and fashion of their cure and remedy.

### *POLE*

Master Lupset, as touching that thing, you must ever remember my purpose here intended, which is, as I showed before, only to touch certain general things, as by a commentary to conserve and keep in memory, and the rest to leave to the prudence of them which have authority and rule to put such things in execution as, by these general things of me noted, they may be put in remembrance of only. For if I should particularly prosecute<sup>2</sup> everything at large pertaining to these

<sup>1</sup> in addition

<sup>2</sup> follow up in detail

matters, we should not finish our communication this fifteen days and more; for every matter requireth almost a whole book and volume.

*LUPSET*

Sir, you say therein truth, without fail. I perceive it is sufficient for your purpose now to gadder certain things whereby princes may be admonished to put such other in execution which of these may be shortly gaddered. And therefore let us go on after the manner before used.

*POLE*

We noted, if you call to remembrance, in the chief part of the body (that is, the head) an appropriate disease, which we called then a frenzy; the which disease if we could find the mean to cure, all the misorders in the rest of the party should easily be healed: for all hang upon this. Therefore the wise philosopher Plato in all his common wealth chiefly laboured to see good officers, heads and rulers, the which should be, as it were, lively laws; for the which cause also, after mine opinion, he thought nothing necessary to write any laws to his commonalty; for if the heads in a common weal were both just, good and wise, there should need none other laws to the people. But how might this be brought to pass, Master Lupset, in our common weal and country? Think you it were possible?

*LUPSET*

I think by no man's wit. And therefore Plato imagined only and dreamed upon such a common weal as never yet was found, nor never, I think, shall be, except God would send down His angels and of them make a city; for man by nature is so frail and corrupt, that so many wise men in a commonalty to find, I think it plain impossible.

*POLE*

Well, Master Lupset, here you must understand that we look not for such heads as Plato describeth in his policy, for that is out of hope with us to be found, nor yet for such wise men as the Stoics describe, and ancient philosophers. But after a more civil and common sort we will measure they wisdom of them whom we would to rule—that is

to say, such as will not in all things nother follow their own affections, nother yet in whom all affects are drowned and taken quite away, but, observing a certain reasonable mean, ever have their eyes fixed to the common weal, and that above all thing ever to prefer, to that ever redress<sup>1</sup> all their acts, thoughts and deeds. Such men, I say, if we might set in our common weal and policy, should be sufficient for us.

*LUPSET*

Sir, I think we were happy if we might such find.

*POLE*

Well, let us consider then, and proceed. First, this is certain in our common weal as it is institute: a great part of this matter hangeth upon one pin; for this is sure—our country is not so barren of honest men but such might be found, specially if the youth were a little brought up after such manner as we shall touch hereafter. The pin that I speak of is this: to have a good prince to govern and rule. This is the ground of all felicity in the civil life. This is foundation of all good policy in such a kind of state as is in our country. The prince instituteth and maketh almost all under-officers; he hath authority and rule of all. Therefore, if we could find a mean to have a good prince commonly, this should be a common remedy almost, as I said, for all the rest of the misorders in the policy.

*LUPSET*

Marry, sir, that is truth. But this lieth in God only, and not in man's power.

*POLE*

Master Lupset, though this be truth, that all goodness cometh of God, as out of the fountain, yet God requireth the diligence of man in all such thing as pertaineth to his felicity. The providence of God hath this ordained: that man shall not have anything perfit, nor attain to his perfection, without cure and travail, labour and diligence, by the which, as by money, we may buy all thing, of God, Who is the only marchand of all thing that is good.

<sup>1</sup> direct



## LUPSET

What mean you by this? Would you that man should provide him a prince, and form him after his own fashion, as it were in man's power that to do, and by diligence to give him wisdom and goodness?

## POLE

Nay, Master Lupset, I mean nothing so; for it is God that maketh man, and of Him only cometh all wisdom and goodness, as I said even now. But, Master Lupset, to see what I mean somewhat more clear, let us consider this matter a little higher. The goodness of God, out of the which springeth all thing that is good, hath made man of all creatures in earth most perfit, giving unto him a sparkle of his own divinity—that is to say, right reason—whereby he should govern himself in civil life and good policy according to his excellent nature and dignity.

But with this same sparkle of reason thus to man given are joined by nature so many affects and vicious desires, by the reason of this earthly body, that, except man with cure, diligence and labour resist to the same, they over-run reason, this little sparkle, and so bring man, consequently, from his natural felicity and from that life which is convenient to his nature and dignity, insomuch that he is then as a brute beast, following not the ordinance of God, which gave him reason to subdue his affects as much as the nature of the body would suffer. For if He had given him so much reason and wisdom that he should never have been overcome with affects and vain desires, He should have made man above man, and made him as an angel; and so there should have lacked here in this world the nature of man. But the goodness of God (Which, only thereby moved, made this sensible<sup>1</sup> world) would suffer nothing to lack to the perfection thereof, who did communicate His own goodness and perfection to everything according to the capacity of his gross nature. And thus man could not be made (being by nature in such imperfection of his earthly body) to any more perfection; his body would suffer no more of that celestial light.

Notwithstanding, this is true: that to some man this light is more communed, to some man less, according to the nature of his body and according to his education and good instruction in the common wealth where he is brought forth of nature. And this is the cause, as it appeareth to me, that one man is more wise than another; yea, and

<sup>1</sup> perceptible by the senses

one nation more prudent and politic than another. Howbeit, I think none there is so rude and beastly, but, with cure and diligence, by that same sparkle of reason given of God, they may subdue their affections and follow the life to the which they be institute and ordained of God; the which order when man with reason followeth, he is then governed by the providence of God; like as, contrary, when he by negligence suffereth this reason to be overcome with vicious affects, then he, so blinded, liveth contrary to the ordinance of God and falleth utterly out of His providence, and is led by his own ignorance. He is then subject to this world and to the kingdom of the devil; he then hath his ruler, foolish fancy and vain opinion, which ever lead him to his own confusion. All this that I have said I could confirm both by the sentence of old philosophy and Holy Scripture; but because I see here is not the place now to dispute, but to take and admit the truth tried by ancient wits and celestial wisdom and doctrine, I will this pretermitt and set apart.

And now to our purpose. Even as every particular man, when he followeth reason, is governed by God, and, contrary, blinded with ignorance by his own vain opinion, so whole nations, when they live togidder in civil order institute and governed by reasonable policy, are then governed by the providence of God, and be under His tuition; as, contrary, when they are\* without good order and politic rule, they are ruled by the violence of tyranny—they are not governed by His providence nor celestial ordinance, but as a man governed by affects, so they be tormented infinite ways by the reason of such tyrannical power. So that of this you may see that it is not God that provideth tyrans to rule in cities and towns, no more than it is He that ordaineth ill affects to overrun right reason.

But now to the purpose, Master Lupset. It is not man that can make a wise prince of him that lacketh wit by nature, nor make him just that is a tyran for pleasure. But this is in man's power: to elect and choose him that is both wise and just, and make him a prince; and him that is a tyran, so to depose. Wherefore, Master Lupset, this I may truly say, to the which all this reasoning now tendeth: that if we will correct this frenzy in our common weal, we may not at a venture take him to our prince, whatsoever he be that is born of his blood and cometh by succession—the which, and you remember, we noted before also to be one of the greatest fauts (as it is indeed) in our policy; the which faut, once correct, shall also take away this frenzy.

If we can find a way to amend this, we shall not greatly labour to cure the rest; for as to say, as many men do, that the providence of God ordaineth tyrans for the punishment of the people, this agreeth nothing with philosophy nor reason; no, nor yet to the doctrine of Christ and good religion. For by the same mean, as I said a little before, you might say that it is the providence of\* God that every particular man followeth his affects, blinded with ignorance and folly, and so it should follow, the folly and vice cometh of the providence of God, which is no way to be admitted but only as this: that the providence of God hath ordained, of His goodness, such a creature to be, which may by his own folly follow his own affects. But when he doth so, this is sure: he followeth not the ordinance of God, but overcome by pleasure and blinded with ignorance flieth from it and slippeth from his own dignity. Therefore never attribute tyranny (of all ill the greatest) to the providence of God, except you will, consequently, attribute all ill to the Fountain of goodness—which is nothing convenient, but plain wickedness and impiety. But after my mind and opinion you shall attribute this tyranny partly to the malice of man, who by nature is ambitious and of all pleasure most desirous, and partly to negligence of the people, which suffer themselves to be oppressed therewith. Wherefore, Master Lupset, if we will cure this pernicious frenzy, we must begin to take away this pestilent tyranny, the which to do is nothing hard for to devise.

But here you must remember, Master Lupset, as we said in our first day's communication, that albeit we have now in our days by the providence of God such a prince, and of such wisdom that he may right well and justly be subject to no law, whose prudence and wisdom is lively law and true policy, yet we now (which all such things as seldom happen have not in consideration, but such things only look unto which for the most part happen and be likely, and such as be meet to a just and common policy) may not deny but that in our order here is a certain faut, and to the same now devise of some remedy. Wherein the first and best mean is thus, after my mind and opinion, here in our country to be taken: after the decease of the prince, by election of the common voice of the parliament assembled, to choose one most apt to that high office and dignity, which should not rule and govern all at his own pleasure and liberty, but ever be subject to the order of his laws. But here to show how he should be elect, and after what manner and fashion, that we shall leave to particular con-

sideration, and take this for a sure ground and foundation to deliver us from all confusion; for truly this is the first way which well and justly may deliver us out of all tyranny. This hath been ever used among them which have ever lived under a prince with liberty, whereby they have been governed by lively reason, and not subject to deadly affection. The second mean, as meseemeth, may well be this: if we will that they heirs of the prince shall ever succeed, whatsoever he be, then to him must be joined a counsel, by common authority—not such as he will, but such as by the most part of the parliament shall be judged to be wise and meet thereunto.

#### LUPSET

Why, but then by this mean our parliament should have much to do if, whensoever lacked any counsellor, it should be called to subrogate other and set in their place.

#### POLE

Nay, Master Lupset, I would not so. But for that a provision must be had, and that might be this. Forasmuch as they great parliament should never be called but only at the election of our prince, or else for some other great urgent cause concerning the common state and policy, I would think it well if that at London should ever be remaining (because it is the chief city of our ream) the authority of the parliament, which ever there should be ready to remedy all such causes,<sup>1</sup> and repress seditions, and defend the liberty of the whole body of the people at all such time as they king or his counsel tended to anything hurtful and prejudicial to the same. This counsel and authority of parliament should rest in these persons: first, in four of the greatest and ancient lords of the temporalty; two bishops, as of London and Canterbury; four of the chief judges; and four of the most wise citizens of London. These men jointly togidder should have authority of the whole parliament in such time as the parliament were dissolved.

This authority should be chiefly instituted to this end and purpose: to see that the king and his proper counsel should do nothing again the ordinance of his laws and good policy; and they should have also power to call the great parliament whensoever to them it should seem necessary for the reformation of the whole state of the commonalty. By

<sup>1</sup> diseases (of the state)

this counsel also should pass all acts of leagues, confederation, peace and war. All the rest should be ministered by the king and his counsel. But this, above all, as a ground should be laid: that the king should do nothing pertaining to the state of his ream without the authority of his proper counsel appointed to him by this authority. This counsel should be of two bishops, four lords, and four of the best learned and politic men, expert in the laws both spiritual and temporal.

And so this counsel, though we took our prince by succession, for the avoiding of sedition, should deliver us from all tyranny, setting us in true liberty. And so we should have, consequently, the ground of this frenzy taken away, for by the counsel of those appointed to the king all bishoprics and great offices should be distributed and given, and all great fauts and enormities openly committed should be, by their prudence, justly punished. All other inferior lords, knights and gentlemen which did not their office and duty in administration of justice with equity toward their subjects in such things as they had jurisdiction of should be called to count, and before them give reckoning of all things done of them whereof by any man they were accused.

This band of reckoning before the counsel of higher authority should make the under officers to be ware and diligent to do their duty, which if they did, by and by should follow the correction of the other particular fauts which we noted to be in the parts to the feets and hands of the common weal resembled, the which fauts were nothing else but other negligence of the people, or else, at the least, springing out of the same. For as touching this—that the ground lieth so untilled, and crafts be so ill-occupied here in our nation—it is of nothing chiefly but of negligence of the people or vain occupation. Wherefore, if such negligence (perceived and proved at courts openly in every village and town) both of ploughmen and artisans were by the officers punished by certain pain<sup>1</sup> forfeited—prescribing the same, you should have both crafts better occupied and also the ground more diligently tilled; specially if the statute of enclosure<sup>2</sup> were put in execution, and all such pasture put to the use of the plough as before time hath been so used, for in many places herein is evidently perceived much negligence, and great lack in the applying of the ground to the plough. This must be amended, and then you shall see both all things in more abundance and the politic body more lively and quick.

<sup>1</sup> fine

<sup>2</sup> against enclosures

This gout both in the feet and hands should be much thereby eased, specially if to this also were joined another ordinance of no less profit, as I think, than this, which is, that all craftsmen in cities and towns which are drunkers,<sup>1</sup> given to the belly and pleasure thereof, carders and dicers, and all other given to idle games should be by the same officers observed and punished; of the which things the officers should have as much regard as of robbing and adultery, the which spring undoubtedly out of these foundations as out of the chief and principal causes thereof. Wherefore we must study to cut away the causes, if we will remedy, and not only punish the effect, as we do commonly. I think surely that if the under-officers and rulers appointed thereto would study as well to punish them which lay the ground of such misery and mischief as they do the doers thereof, there would not be so much disorder among the common people as now there is. The law can go no further but to the deed; but the officers may take away, by good prudence and policy, the particular cause of the deed, commonly. The gluttony of England, and they idle games, be no small occasion of all adultery, robbery and other mischief. Therefore if the officers in courts, and curates also, looked and studied to the removing of those causes diligently, this gout that we spake of should be utterly taken away surely; and then should follow by and by also the cure of the other great fault which we found in exterior things, which we noted, consequently, after the other.

For even like as one disease cometh of another in this politic body, so the cure of one also followeth another. For whereof cometh the penury of all exterior things necessary to this body but of the negligence of the people? Undoubtedly this is the chief cause thereof commonly. Wherefore, finding mean that they people may be compelled to diligent exercise of their office and duty, thereto followeth forthwith all abundance of things necessary, specially if to that were joined another ordinance (which peradventure, shall seem to you but a small thing, but indeed it is of great weight) which is concerning the freight of merchandise; by whom the abundance of all exterior things may be much furthered,<sup>2</sup> if it be ordered to the common weal, without regard of private gain, and profit upon any part without equity. And concerning this matter this is the chief point: that the marchands carry out only such things as may be well lacked within our own country without common detriment<sup>3</sup> to our nation, and bring in such

<sup>1</sup> drunkards

<sup>2</sup> furthered

<sup>3</sup> loss

things again as we have need of here at home, and as by the diligence of our own men cannot be made. This thing put in use and in execution should be a great ground of all abundance and plenty.

For first, to begin with this: the carriage out of wool to the staple<sup>1</sup> is a great hurt to the people of England, though it be profitable both to the prince and to the marchand also. For by this mean the clothing of England is in utter decay—the greatest destruction that ever came to our ream, and the greatest ruin of many crafts which long<sup>2</sup> to the same. Wherefore if this staple were broken or otherwise redressed,<sup>3</sup> and clothing set up in England again, this is sure: the commodity of our wool and cloth should bring in all other things that we have need of out of all other strange parts beyond the sea. Yea, and though our cloth at the first beginning would not be so good, peraventure, as it is made in other parts, yet in process of time I cannot see why but that our men, by diligence, might attain thereto right well, specially if the prince would study thereto, in whose power it lieth chiefly such things to help. There be marchand men that by the help of the prince will undertake in few years to bring clothing to as great perfection as it is in other parts, which, if it were done, it should be the greatest benefit to increase the riches of England that might be devised. They which now fatch<sup>4</sup> our wool should be glad to fatch our cloth made in our ream, whereby should be occupied infinite people which now live in idleness, wretched and poor.

And the same thing is to be said both of lead and tin. Our marchands carry them out at pleasure and then bring the same in worked again, and made vessel<sup>5</sup> thereof. And so of infinite other things we might say, the which the goodness of nature hath to our isle given, they which now is not need to rehearse but thus generally. They marchand must be prohibited to bring in any such things which may be made by the diligence of our own men. Wine, velvets and silks they may bring in, but not in such abundance as they commonly do, which causeth much ill, as we said before. Wherefore the statute of apparel must be put into execution, and such common taverns of wines would be forbidden; they cause much ill and misery. But what things they shall carry out and what things bring in, the officers appointed to the oversight thereof must ever prescribe; for this cannot be determed but according to the abundance and penury of things, prudently considered—it is to be

<sup>1</sup> a commercial centre

<sup>4</sup> fetch

<sup>2</sup> belong

<sup>3</sup> manufactured goods

<sup>5</sup> put in order

reserved. But these officers must be appointed wise and expert men in every great city, haven and port.

And here another point for to aid the abundance cometh to my remembrance (I think, good and profitable) which is this: that the unreasonable custom commonly appointed must be\* abated, and specially to them which bring in things necessary, whereby they may be provoked<sup>1</sup> more gladly to bring in. For as the order is now, the prince hath more than\* half of their gain, which thing giveth them little courage to travail and to take pain.

It should also be no small furtherance many ways, as I think, if it were ordained that our own marchands should carry out and bring in with our own vessels, and not use the strangers' ships as they do now; by the reason whereof our own mariners oft-times lie idle.

Another great thing there is, as I think, which should much help to make abundance of all thing necessary for the life—to constrain the ploughmen and farmers to be more diligent in rearing of all manner of beasts and cattle; for by their negligence undoubtedly riseth a great part of the dearth of all such things as for food is necessary; for the lack of such things, caused by such negligence, is one chief cause of the dearth thereof.

And another thing there is which few men observe, which is the enhancing of rents, of late days induced,<sup>2</sup> as we said before; for if they farmers pay much rent, and more than is reason, they must needs sell dear, of necessity, for he that buyeth dear may sell dear also, justly. Wherefore this ordinance would be profitable: that all such rents as be enhanced by<sup>3</sup> memory of man should be rebated and set to the old stint<sup>4</sup> of that time when the people of England flourished; for now they are brought almost to the misery of France by the ill governance of late days, and avarice of the heads and rulers of them. This ground must be take away if we intend ever to remedy this great dearth which is now of all things among us reigning; whereof the ground surely is this, for this maketh, without fail, all kind of vittle more dear than it was wont to be, which cometh all out of the country. And consequently, when vittle is dear, then they craftsmen must need sell his ware after the same rate, for it costeth him more in nourishing his family and artificers thereof than before it was wont to do. And so consequently of this root springeth all dearth of all things which we should have by the diligence and labour of the people.

<sup>1</sup> induced

<sup>2</sup> brought in

<sup>3</sup> within

<sup>4</sup> limit



Wherefore we may surely conclude that, if these things were remedied after this manner, both concerning marchands, labourers of the ground and farmers thereof, we should in few years have abundance of all thing, after the old manner; we should have this miserable poverty taken away. For, as for beggars lusty and strong, yea, and thieves also, should be but few or none at all of that sort as they be now. For if this multitude of serving-men were plucked away after the manner as I showed you before, the root of all that sort should utterly perish. And as for those the which nature hath brought forth impotent, or by sickness are fallen thereto, they should be but few, and easily should be nourished after a manner lately devised by the wisdom of the citizens of Ypres, a city in Flanders, the which I would wish to be put in use with us, or else some other of the same sort.

Howbeit, to have some such as by nature are impotent and poor, I think it is the ordinance of God to a good purpose; for such poverty exerciseth well the piteous minds of them which have enough, and putteth them in remembrance of the imbecility of man's nature. Wherefore it may be well suffered to have some to go about to provoke men to mercy and pity, and to prove and tempt<sup>1</sup> their loving charity.

But to return. This great number of sturdy beggars thereby should utterly be taken away, and also the great poverty of the labourers of the ground. And thus, Master Lupset, abundance of all things we should have in our country.

#### LUPSET

But, sir, it is not enough, as we said before, to have things necessary in abundance, but we must have all common ornaments of our common wealth also, if we will make the perfit state before described.

#### POLE

These ornaments, Master Lupset, of common weals, as goodly cities, castles and towns, will soon follow riches and abundance, as things annexed thereto, if there were a little more regard thereof and a little more care put thereunto, for whereas is riches and abundance, there with a little diligence will soon be brought in all common ornaments, as goodly cities and towns, with magnificent<sup>2</sup> and goodly houses, fair temples and churches, with other common<sup>3</sup> places; concerning the

<sup>1</sup> make trial of

<sup>2</sup> splendid

<sup>3</sup> public

which I would have men to confer every year a certain sum, according to their ability, to the building and reforming of all such common places in every city and town.

And convenient it were, officers to be appointed to have regard of the beauty of the town and country, and of the cleanness of the same, which should cause great health also, and, as I think, be a great occasion<sup>1</sup> that the pestilence should not reign so much as it doth with us in our country.

But if we will restore our cities to such beauty as we see in other countries, we must begin of this ground. Our gentlemen must be caused to retire to cities and towns, and to build them houses in the same, and there to see the governance of them, helping ever to set all such thing forward as pertaineth to the ornaments of the city. They may not continually dwell in the country as they do. This is a great rudeness and a barbarous custom used with us in our country. They dwell, with us, sparkled in the fields and woods, as they did before there was any civil life known or stablished among us; the which surely is a great ground of the lack of all civil order and humanity. Wherefore this must be amended, if we will ever replenish our country with good cities and towns, of the decay whereof I think this is one great cause and manifest occasion. Wherefore this must be remedied after this manner now touched: to compel them at the least to build there their houses, and sometimes there to be resident. The great lords and gentlemen which for their pleasure follow the court, without office or dignity, must be caused to return and inhabit the cities of their countries; by the which mean, shortly, the cities should be made beautiful and fair, and formed with much civility.

And so thus our country should not only be replenished with people well occupied, every man in his office and degree, but also we should have great abundance of all things, as well of such thing as our country, by the diligence of man, would bear and bring forth, as of such thing as by marchands should be brought in out of other parts. And yet, moreover, you should plainly see that we should have withal, consequently, all ornaments convenient to the nature of our country, which will not suffer to be<sup>2</sup> so ornate and so beautiful in every degree as other countries be, as Italy, France and Germany. The defect of nature is with us such, by the reason whereof we have not such things as should ornate<sup>3</sup> our country after such manner, notwithstanding we

<sup>1</sup> good reason

<sup>2</sup> submit to being

<sup>3</sup> adorn

have and may have by diligence all such thing as shall be required to this common weal, the which we have before described.

Wherefore, Master Lupset, we may now consequently proceed to correct the fauts which be in the policy and in the manner of administration of our common weal, the which is, as it were, the soul to the body; for hitherto we have showed and touched the manner of the correcting only such misorders as be in the body and in the parts of the same. Wherefore now, Master Lupset, if you think it time, and except you remember anything not spoken of which is need upon this part, let us go forward thereto.

## CHAPTER 6

### *LUPSET*

Sir, forasmuch as I remember the knot betwix the body and the soul and the communion betwix them also to be of that sort, that they diseases of the one redound to<sup>1</sup> the other, therefore I think such diseases of the body (if there be any yet left behind) shall be cured by the correction and cure of such as pertain to the life and soul of the same. Wherefore I think you may proceed, if you would a little show more at large how this body should be kept and conserved continually in health and in this prosperous state which you have described.

### *POLE*

Why, Master Lupset, do you not perceive how that shall follow of necessity to the cure of the misorders which remain in the life and, as it were, the soul of this politic body, even like as it is in man's body, to the which I oft resemble the same, wherein you see the conservation thereof? In health and prosperous state, much hangeth upon the temperance and soberness of the mind, insomuch that you shall see very few of sober and temperate diet but they have healthy and wealthy bodies—except they hurt themselves by some exterior cause manifest and plain, as over-much or little exercise, or abiding in some pestilent and corrupt air, and such other like. Even so it is in this politic body, be you assured; if we may find the mean now in this our communication following to correct the fauts in our policy, this prosperous state shall surely long continue, and this politic body healthy and wealthy long shall endure. A certain argument thereof we have of the most noble city of Venice, which by the reason of the good order and policy that therein is used hath continued above a thousand years in one order and state; whereas the people also, by the reason of their sober and temperate diet, be as healthy and wealthy as any people now, I think, living upon the earth.

Therefore, Master Lupset, by statute made and commonly received concerning our diet, we must be compelled at the first to follow these men in soberness and temperance, and then you should never have any occasion to doubt thereof nor fear the stability of our prosperous state

<sup>1</sup> overflow into

and good policy; specially, as I said, if we may so temper our politic order and rule that there shall rest no fault therein. For that is the sure ground of the conservation of the common weal, in the politic body. For as you see manifestly daily, the ruin of countries, cities and towns riseth ever of this ground commonly—that is to say, other of some tyranny or sedition made by the reason of some disorder in the politic governance and rule.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, this is truth—no man may it deny. And therefore, without other delay, proceed after your manner proposed.

#### *POLE*

Forbecause, Master Lupset, tyranny in all commonalties is the ground of all ill, the well of all mischief and disorder, the root of all sedition, and ruin of all civility, therefore we must above all provide that to it in our country be no place at all. For as man is then miserable (though he have never so good health of body and prosperous state other ways) when reason is overrun, and unrul'd affects govern and reign in his order of life—yea, and the better health of body and more abundance of riches that he hath, and of wordly prosperity, the more miserable he is and full of wretchedness—so is a country, city or town when it is oppressed with tyranny (though it be never so well replenished with people healthy and wealthy, and ornate with the most goodly cities of the world) yet most miserable and wretched and full of all adversity, as we have before more at large declared. Therefore, Master Lupset, above all, as I said, of this we must have regard, and stop all occasion thereof as much as we may.

And forasmuch as no prince is found of such sort as is required to a very true and princely state (that is to say, that passeth all other in wisdom and virtue, whose stomach<sup>1</sup> should be a lively image of justice and policy, and whose life should be law to all other, and example of all humanity), therefore we must, to avoid all tyranny, which in all realms runneth in at this hole (that is to say, by giving authority to one which is not worthy of this name of a prince, the full power thereof)—we must provide, I say, that by no prerogative he usurp upon the people any such authorised tyranny which the acts of parliaments in

<sup>1</sup>spirit

time past, under the pretence of princely majesty, hath granted thereto here in our country.

Seeing therefore that a princely state, as we have proved before, is most convenient for our country, and to the nature thereof most agreeable, and seeing also that princes commonly are ruled by affects rather than by reason and order of justice, the laws, which be sincere<sup>1</sup> and pure reason without any spot or blot of affection, must have chief authority; they must rule and govern the state, and not the prince after his own liberty and will. For this cause the most wise men, considering the nature of princes, yea, and the nature of man as it is indeed, affirm a mixed state to be of all other the best and most convenient to conserve the whole out of tyranny. For when any one part hath full authority, if that part chance to be corrupt with affects (as oft we see in every other state it doth) the rest shall suffer the tyranny thereof and be put in great misery. For the avoiding whereof here in our country the authority of the prince must be tempered and brought to order, which many years by prerogatives granted thereto is grown to a manifest injury; the which things the acts of our princes in time so openly have declared that it needeth, I trow, no proof at all. I think there is no man that so lacketh eyes which this doth not see.

But now, by what mean this may be done partly I have showed in the cure of the head and of the frenzy thereof, and the rest now we shall join<sup>2</sup> in his place. Our old ancetors, the institutors of our laws and order of our ream, considering well this same tyranny, and for the avoiding of the same, ordained a Constable of England, to counterpoise<sup>3</sup> the authority of the prince and temper the same—giving him authority to call a parliament in such case as the prince would run into any tyranny of his own heady<sup>4</sup> judgement. But for because this office seemed to the prince over-high—to have any one man with such authority—and so often-time was cause of sedition and debate, insomuch that the princes of our time have this office utterly suppressed, therefore, for the avoiding of all such occasion of any dangerous sedition betwix the princes of our ream and his nobility, meseemeth much more convenient, as I have showed before, to give this authority unto diverse and not to one, even like as the authority of the prince may not rest in him alone, but in him as the head joined to his counsel as to the body.

After the same form, the Constable should be head of this other

<sup>1</sup> unmixed

<sup>2</sup> enjoin

<sup>3</sup> counterpoise

<sup>4</sup> headstrong

counsel, which should represent the whole body of the people without parliament and common counsel gaddered of the ream,<sup>1</sup> concerning this one point chiefly: that is to say, to see unto the liberty of the whole body of the ream, and to resist all tyranny which by any manner may grow upon the whole commonalty, and so to call parliament of the whole whensoever they see any peril of the loss of the liberty. This counsel I would have, as I touched before, of the Constable as head, of the Lord Marshal, Steward and Chamberlain of England, with four of the chief judges, four citizens of London, and two bishops, London and Canterbury. This counsel should ever be occasion to redress the affects of the prince to the order of the law,<sup>2</sup> justice and equity, in case be that he by any mean should corrupt his counsel appointed to him by the same authority. For this may in no case be committed to the arbitrament of the prince—to choose his own counsel—for that were all one and to commit<sup>3</sup> all to his affects, liberty and rule.

This therefore should be the second thing pertaining to this counsel (and as a little parliament): to elect and choose ever such men as they should judge meet to be about a prince, and to be very counsellors of the common wealth, and not to be corrupt by fear or affection. This counsel I would have to be of ten persons: two doctors learned in divinity, and two in the law civil, and two of the common law (of the which, two I would should be appointed to receive complaints made to the king and to refer that same to the whole counsel, and one of them to be of the civil and another of the common law), and four of the nobility, expert and wise men in matters of policy. And by this counsel all things pertaining to the princely state should be governed and ruled; of the which the king should be head and president ever when he might or would be among them. By them all bishoprics and all high office of dignity should be distributed. The rest the king should dispose, of his own proper liberty, where it should please him.

And so by this counsel the chief matter and cause of all sedition should be take away out of our country: that is to say, the inequality of distribution of the common offices of authority and dignity. For this is evident and plain, that the chief cause of sedition riseth thereof. For where virtue is not rewarded worthily, then it rebelleth sturdily; then riseth disdain and hate; then springeth envy and malice. Where-

<sup>1</sup> when parliament is not assembled

<sup>2</sup> a means of making the prince's desires conform to the laws

<sup>3</sup> the equivalent of committing

fore, when men be regarded according to their dignity, the occasion most chief of all sedition shall be take away undoubtedly. This counsel, therefore, should be a great and a wonderful stay of the princely state, and stablishing of the true common weal that we so much have spoken of before.

Wherefore not without a cause I would this to be chosen by the whole parliament, and afterward ever supplied by the election of this counsel, which I said should represent the whole state commonly. And this should be the second point of their authority.

The thrid<sup>1</sup> should be this: that the matters of peace and war debated by the other counsel and proper of the prince<sup>2</sup> should ever be confirmed by them and authorised by their consent. All other things pertaining to the king and princely power, as I said before, to hang only upon the authority of him and his counsel joined to him. By this mean, Master Lupset, we should avoid easily all danger of tyranny; by this mean we should avoid the sedition that is to be feared of the election of the prince if he were not admitted by succession of blood. Or else, because that manner hath been used many years, and taketh away much occasion of sedition, as you think, I will not stick<sup>3</sup> with you in that, so that you will grant me again his power (after the manner before rehearsed) somewhat to be tempered and brought in order.

#### LUPSET

Yes, sir, that I must need grant, except I would admit plain tyranny, which will not agree with our communication before had. But, on the other part, I would not yet have him chose by election, but let that power rest in the ancient families, or else it cannot be chose but that we should have oft civil war and sedition. For every man would study to attain thereto, and so all should fall into a confusion.

#### POLE

Nay, Master Lupset, I cannot tell you that; if it were restrained, as I have said before, there would not be so great ambition thereof as there is now. For as in Venice is no great ambitious desire to be there Duke, because he is restrained to good order and politic, so with us also should be of our king, if his power were tempered after the manner before described; whereas now every man desireth it because he may make himself and all his friends for ever rich; he may subdue his

<sup>1</sup> third      <sup>2</sup> the prince's own counsel      <sup>3</sup> haggle



enemies at his pleasure; all is at his commandment and will. And this hath moved civil war in time past, notwithstanding this ordinance of succession.

But we will not enter no further in disputation now, forasmuch as I remember we have reasoned upon this matter before, and plainly concluded the best way, if men would live in civil life togidder, to have a prince by free election, and choosing him among other of the best. But forbecause we are barbarous and ruled by affects, for the avoiding of greater ill which would come among barbarous minds, therefore, in the second place, and not as the best, we thought it convenient, as you say, now to take him by succession; but tempering his power, as it is before said.

### LUPSET

This is undoubtedly truth. The power of the prince would, after such fashion, be restrained and brought to order; and, after my mind, it is the chief ground and principle of all this true common weal whereof now we speak, considering the nature of man as it is, which is more commonly ruled by affects than by reason. Wherefore, if this ground were stablished and surely set, the cure of all other misorders which we noted before would by and by follow and easily ensue.

### POLE

That is truth, Master Lupset, without fail, as we shall see in our process<sup>1</sup> more plain. For as physicians say, when they have removed the chief cause of the malady and disease in the body, by little and by little then Nature herself cureth the patient; even so now in our purpose, this faut that we have before spoken of, which was and is the cause of many other, once perfitly cured shall minister unto us the most convenient mean for to proceed to the cure of the rest.

Among the which, as I remember, was there noted the faut of bringing up of the nobility, which for the most part are nourished without cure, both of<sup>2</sup> their parents, being alive, and much worse of them in whose ward commonly they do fall after their death—the which care for nothing but only to spoil<sup>3</sup> their pupils and wards, or else to marry them after their pleasure, whereby the true love of matrimony was and is utterly take away and destroyed; to the which, as every man knoweth, succeed infinite miseries and misorders of life.

<sup>1</sup> in due course

<sup>2</sup> by

<sup>3</sup> despoil

Wherefore this thing must be remedied, if we will proceed to our end and purpose.

And first as concerning the wards: of this we must begin all our old barbarous customs utterly to abrogate, without respect of the beginning in thereof, though they appear never so good. And ever they which have the nobility in ward must be bounden to make a reckoning and count before a judge appointed thereto, not only of all his intrate,<sup>1</sup> rents and revenues but much more of the ordering and institution<sup>2</sup> of his ward both in virtue and learning.

But here is, Master Lupset, not only in our country but also in all other which ever yet I knew, a great lack and negligence of them which rule in common policy, and that is this: that in no country there is any regard of the bringing up of youth in common discipline and public exercise, but every man privately in his own house hath his master to instruct his childer in letters, without any respect of other exercise in other feats pertaining to nobility no less than learning and letters, as in all feats of chivalry. Therefore there would be some ordinance devised for the joining of these both togidder, which might be done after this manner.

Likewise as we have in our Universities colleges and common places to nourish the childer of poor men in letters (whereby, as you see, cometh no small profit to the common weal), so much more we should have, as it were, certain places appointed for the bringing up togidder of the nobility, to the which I would the nobles should be compelled to set forward their childer and heirs, that in a number togidder they might the better profit. To this use turn both Westminster and St. Albans, and many other.† And to this company I would have appointed rulers certain of the most virtuous and wise men of the ream, the which should instruct this youth to whom should come the governance, after, of this our common weal. Prebends should be premia to young gentlemen married and learned in scripture; by this mean scripture should be more communed than it is.‡ Here they should be instruct not only in virtue and learning but also in all feats of war pertaining to such as should be hereafter, in time of war, captains and governors of the common sort. This should be the most noble institution that ever was yet devised in any common weal; of this, surely, should spring the fountain of all civility and politic rule. Yea, and without such a thing, I cannot tell whether all the rest of

<sup>1</sup> income

<sup>2</sup> education

our device will little avail.<sup>1</sup> I think it will never be possible to institute our common weal without this ordinance brought to pass and put in effect.

Our old fathers have been liberal in building great abbeys and monasteries for the exercise of a monastical life among religious men, which hath done much good to the virtuous living of Christian minds—whose example I would that we should now follow in building places for the institution of the nobility, or else in changing some of these to that use, because there be over-many of this sort now in our days; that, even like as these monks and religious men there living togidder exercise a certain monastical discipline and life, so they nobles, being brought up togidder, should learn there the discipline of the common weal.

You see now how they nobles think themself born only to triumph and spend such lands (the which their ancetors have provided for them) in their vain pleasures and pastimes. They never look to other end and purpose. But here I would have them in this discipline first to take heed and diligently to learn what they be, and what place they occupy in the common weal, and what is the office and duty pertaining to the same. Here they should learn how and after what manner they might be able and meet to do and put in exercise that thing which pertaineth to their office and authority, and so, plainly and fully, to be instruct in the administration of justice both public and private. And, as I said, at void times also convenient to the same, they should use to exercise themselves in feats of the body and chivalry, no less expedient for time of war than the other exercises be for time of peace. And thus they should be worthy of the name which we now unworthily give unto them commonly; then they should be nobles indeed; then they should be true lords and masters; then they people would be glad to be governed by them, when they perceived so plainly that they regarded the weal of them no less than their own privately. But, Master Lupset, the particular mean of bringing this matter to pass requireth, as I said before, a whole book. It is enough for us now to show and touch the manner and mean in general.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, this should be a noble institution, and, to such a prince as should be in a true common weal, easy to bring to pass, or to any such rulers

<sup>1</sup> be of much use

as intend a very true civil life. I pray God we may live to see some men of authority bend<sup>1</sup> to put this in effect. This should bring forth in few years, I trow, Plato's common weal, or else, rather, the true institution of Christian doctrine, so that there should be wise men among this youth to institute them in the sum of Christ's Gospel.

*POLE*

Yes, Master Lupset, that is to be understand; that is the head discipline and public that I spake of before, in the which, I think, in few years (as you say) they should more profit to the communing of Christian charity and the very Gospel of Christ than our monks have done in great process of time in their solitary life, which hath brought forth (with little profit to the public state) much superstition. This youth, as stars, should light in all parts of the ream hereafter, and they should put in effect that thing which these solitary men dream of in their corners.

*LUPSET*

Undoubtedly, such an institution should well remedy this matter of the wards, and bring in a contrary fame into our country; for as we be now infamed<sup>2</sup> therewith, so we should be then of all other most praised—and not only for the wards and good order of them, but for the whole education of nobility, which is in all places, as you said, more neglect than of the nobles their hawks and their hounds, of whose education they have great cure.

*POLE*

Sir, you say truth; and specially with us, where gentlemen study more to bring up good hounds than wise heirs.

But now let us go forward, and you shall see how if these two things which we have spoken of (that is, the taking away of all occasion of tyranny and ordaining of good heads, and now this good education of the nobility) had place and effect, that the remedies of all other misorders should, as I have oft said, shortly be found and put in effect, as all other misorders of our laws before noted. As, first, removing of causes by writ from shire towns to London, which we noted a great abuse—and not without a cause, for by that mean every man of power vexeth his adversary without cause, and when he knoweth right well

<sup>1</sup> inclined

<sup>2</sup> infamous

his matter is unjust. This thing, I think, should be remedied by and by without further pain or punishment appointed thereto, if the nobility and gentlemen of every shire would consider their office and duty therein, which is chiefly to see justice among their servants and subjects and to keep them in unity and concord. Wherefore this must be ordained: that no cause be removed by writ to London but such only as they gentlemen of the shire, by the reason of the difficulty of the matter, cannot decide; or else for some other reasonable cause to be proved before them. And at London the judges should admit none in suit but such only as for some reasonable cause were remitted to them by the gentlemen of the shire which have authority therein in the sessions and sizes<sup>1</sup> at shire towns appointed. And moreover, they parties both should be sworn upon a book, that with good opinion of justice they pursue and defend ever their right—for the avoiding of all calumnious contention and wilful vexation of their adversaries. And beside this, the party condemned by the authority of the high judges should ever be awarded<sup>2</sup> to pay costs and all other damage coming to his adversary by the reason of the unjust suit and vexation.

And so by this mean (that is, partly by the wisdom and good provision of the gentleman and of the nobility ruling in the country, and partly by fear of this pain both of perjury and of the paying also of costs and damage) the controversies of the commons in every shire should easilier be pacified and the common quietness much increased; the which, Master Lupset, now is much troubled by contentious minds and froward wits—not only of the parties themselves, but also, much more, by the avaricious minds and covetous of the proctors and attorneys, which commonly regard more their own lucre than the justice of their client's cause. Wherefore the same oath that is ministered to the client himself should be given also to his proctor or advocate, and also punishment, not only of perjury but also of promoting unjust causes, would be joined thereto. The punishment should be after this sort: because he for his lucre deludeth both parties and prolongeth the controversy by his crafty wit, whensoever it might be manifestly proved and his covetous mind openly declared, he should pay the costs and damage to both the parties, as well to the adversary of his client, which by his craft was long defrauded of his right, as to his own client, which by his dissimulation and fair words was entertained<sup>3</sup> in long suit. This ordinance, I think, would help much to the

<sup>1</sup> assizes

<sup>2</sup> sentenced

<sup>3</sup> kept

setting forth of the justice of causes; this should cause the attorneys and proctors to refrain from their crafty inventions; the which is the ground and the very chief key of the long suit of causes in the Court at Westminster, which we noted and observed consequently for another great fault and disorder.

#### *LUPSET*

The covetous minds of the ministers of the law is, without doubt, a great part cause of these long suits, which, I think, should be well redressed if this pain were set upon them before prescribed—specially if you joined to this some provision concerning the multitude of them. For of them are over-many, though there be among them over-few good. Therefore, if it were ordained that only such whose virtue and honesty and good learning in the law were by many years proved should be admitted to practise in causes, and such as look not for all their living of their clients, but gentlemen which have other land, office or fee sufficiently to maintain themselves withal, then I think there would not be so great robbery used of them as there is now, and the suits should not be so long entertained.<sup>1</sup>

Howbeit, you, as I remember, noted another ground of these long suits before, and that there was also fault in the very order of the law. Did you not so?

#### *POLE*

Yes, Master Lupset, that is truth, and that is the fountain and cause of the whole matter; the which cause (as we have done in some other misorders before rehearsed) we must study to take away, if we will utterly remedy this fault of us touched, Master Lupset.

This is no doubt, but that our law and order thereof is over-confuse. It is infinite, and without order or end. There is no stable ground therein, nor sure stay; but everyone that can colour reason maketh a stop to the best law that is before-time devised. The subtlety of one sergeant shall inert and destroy all the judgements of many wise men before-time received. There is no stable ground in our common law to lean unto. The judgements of years be infinite and full of much controversy, and beside that, of small authority. The judges are not bounden, as I understand, to follow them as a rule, but after their own liberty they have authority to judge according as they are instructed by

<sup>1</sup> long drawn out

the sergeants, and as the circumstance of the cause doth them move. And this maketh judgements and process of our law to be without end and infinite; this causeth suits to be long in decision.

Therefore, to remedy this matter groundly, it were necessary in our law to use the same remedy that Justinian did in the law of the Romans to bring this infinite process to certain ends—to cut away these long laws and by the wisdom of some politic and wise men institute a few and better laws and ordinances. The statutes of kings, also, be over-many, even as the constitutions of the emperors were. Wherefore I would wish that all these laws should be brought into some small number, and to be written also in our mother tongue, or else put into the Latin, to cause them that study the civil law of our ream first to begin of the Latin tongue, wherein they might also afterward learn many things to help this profession. This is one thing necessary to the education of the nobility, the which only I would should be admitted to the study of this law. Then they might study also the laws of the Romans, where they should see all causes and controversies decided by rules more convenient to the order of nature than they be in this barbarous tongue Old French, which now serveth to no purpose else. This, Master Lupset, is a great blot in our policy: to see all our law and common discipline written in this barbarous language, which after, when the youth hath learned, serveth them to no purpose at all.

And beside that, to say the truth, many of the laws themselves be also barbarous and tyrannical, as you have before heard. Wherefore, if we will ever bring in true civility into our country by good policy, I think we must abrogate of those laws very many; the which is the only remedy to cure such fauts as we found before in private succession and entailing of lands in every mean house. For as it is, in princes' houses and lords', convenient that the eldest son should, as chief head of the family, ever succeed (alway provision had for the younger also), so it is plainly again nature in mean families commonly, and, as we said and showed at large before, occasion of much hurt, as many other barbarous customs and ordinance be, of the which we spake of before; the which all by this one remedy should be amended and correct, if we might induce the heads of our country to admit the same: that is, to receive the civil law of the Romans, the which is now the common law almost of all Christian nations.

The which thing undoubtedly should be occasion of infinite good-

ness in the order of our ream, the which I could show you manifestly; but the thing itself is so open and plain that it needeth no declaration at all; for who is so blind that seeth not the great shame to our nation, the great infamy and rot that remaineth in us, to be governed by the laws given to us of such a barbarous nation as the Normans be? Who is so far from reason that considereth not the tyrannical and barbarous institutions infinite ways left here among us, which all should be wiped away by the receiving of this which we call the very civil law? — which is, undoubtedly, the most ancient and noble monument of the Romans' prudence and policy, the which be so writ, with such gravity, that if Nature should herself prescribe particular means whereby mankind should observe her laws, I think she would admit the same; specially if they were by a little more wisdom brought to a little better order and frame, which might be soon done and put in effect.

And so there, after that, if the nobility were brought up in these laws, undoubtedly our country would shortly be restored to as good civility as there is in any other nation; yea, and peradventure much better also. For though these laws which I have so praised be common among them, yet, because the nobility there commonly doth not exercise them in the studies thereof, they be all applied to lucre and gain, because the popular<sup>1</sup> men which are born in poverty only doth exercise them for the most part, which is a great ruin of all good order and civility. Wherefore, Master Lupset, if we might bring these two things to effect (that is to say, to have the civil law of the Romans to be the common law here of England with us, and, secondary, that the nobility in their youth should study commonly therein), I think we should not need to seek particular remedies for such misorders as we have noted before, for surely this same public discipline should redress them lightly; yea, and many other mo, the which we spake not yet of at all.

#### LUPSET

Sir, I hold well with you in this behalf. This were a common<sup>2</sup> remedy, if it might be brought to pass. Howbeit, seeing that so many years we have been governed by our own law;<sup>3</sup> I think it should be very hard to bring this to effect.

<sup>1</sup> common

<sup>2</sup> for everything



## POLE

Nay, nay, Master Lupset, easier than you think of. The goodness of a prince would bring this to pass quickly, for the law of itself were easier to learn than is ours in the French tongue. Wherefore lacketh nothing but authority to put it in effect; the which I pray God we may once see, and some occasion thereof once for to take. But the mean time, Master Lupset, because you think it is so hard, let us proceed to the second remedy: that is, to correct particularly the fauts which we noted in the order before and policy.

And as touching the succession and entailing of lands, there must needs be provision; and after this manner methink it would do well: that younger brethren should have a certain portion deputed out of the whole inheritance, other by the will of the father or else, if he died intestate, by an office appointed thereto; for it is again reason and the order of nature that the eldest brother should have all and the rest none at all, as we have reasoned before. And as touching the entailing of lands, surely this band would be broke which now putteth the heirs out of all fear and dread of their parents; and much better it were that they should stand upon their behaviour and that, without they ordered themselves well, it might be at the liberty of the father to disherit<sup>1</sup> his son if he would, proving his cause before a judge; for without cause it were not meet that the father should disherit his child.

## LUPSET

Sir, this was the ordinance of the Romans, as I remember. Wherefore, as you said before, a compendious way for the amending of all were to procure the order of the civil<sup>2</sup> here in our country, which should be a great conservation of the true civil life and just policy.

## POLE

There is no fail but if it might be, that were the best way, as we have before agreed. But if it will not be universally received so quickly, yet let us study to commune it the mean time as much as we may in the particular matters and correction thereof.

## LUPSET

Sir, you say well; and therefore, go forth;<sup>3</sup> for as concerning private

<sup>1</sup> disinherit

<sup>2</sup> civil law

<sup>3</sup> on

succession, entailing of lands, and long suits of law, you have said meetly well. But now, for theft and treason, what will you say?

### *POLE*

First (as in the other spoken of before) remove the cause, and shortly you shall find remedy. The cause of theft, chief and principal, springeth of the idle rout which we noted before, and of ill education of youth. Wherefore, those two things corrected before, the cause of this great fault should withal be removed. Notwithstanding, if the frailty of man fall thereunto (and specially to privy theft, as picking and stealing secretly), I would think it good that the felon should be take and put in some common work, as, to labour in building the walls of cities and towns, or else in some other magnifical work of the prince of the ream, which pain should be more grievous to them than death is reputed; and so by their life yet the common wealth should take some profit. For, as we reasoned before, death is over-strait punishment for all such theft privily committed. But robbery by the highways, with murder and manslaughter, would be, as it is, justly with most cruel death punished.

And in like manner treason, which is the greatest fault that may be again the order of the common weal. Howbeit, this seemeth over-hard: to punish the child for the father's offence, being nothing privy nor consenting thereto. Wherefore in such case reason requireth a portion of his goods to remain to his heir. And likewise, he that bringeth not probable argument and great likelihood, which taketh upon him the accusation in treason, should be punished with the same punishment; for it is no small matter to accuse a man of. But if tyranny were taken away, as we have declared before, you should never have occasion of treason; for tyranny is the mother of treason. Therefore surely this is a gospel word:—take away tyranny, and you shall have little occasion of treason.

### *LUPSET*

Sir, as you said, doubtless the correcting of that fault amendeth, consequently, infinite other. I think there be but few faults in our common weal but they may be resolved to that principal, or else to the ill education and instruction of the nobility.

## POLE

It is not for nought, be you assured, that the most wise philosopher Plato in his common weal that he deviseth laboureth so much to instruct the officers and governors thereof. He putteth to them in his city none other laws; he judgeth that good rulers ever be lively laws. Therefore be you assured that if the policy be not spotted with some spice of tyranny, treason you shall see none. Therefore a good prince in a common wealth set, as I oft rehearse, shall shortly bring in the remedy of all other things, the which thing maketh me briefly here to pass such things as else had need of much deliberation and counsel. Howbeit, without that thing all counsel is void and never can take place; without that there is no good ordinance can be stablished nor grounded; and with this, all thing pertaining to the civil life should soon be redressed and brought to good order—of the which I think now, Master Lupset, we have here sufficiently spoken, at the least of all such thing as we noted before in yesterday's communication.

Wherefore now let us go, finally, to the correction of such things as we noted in the spirituality, and as we did in the temporal part, so in this let us begin of the head, wherein we may apply some remedies. For as the prince by prerogative and privilege breaketh the order of the laws and the knot of all civility, so doth the Pope and head of the Church, usurping authority of dispensation upon all the laws by general counsel decreed, without communing with his counsel of Cardinals which are appointed (yea, and should be elected, and not made by the free will of the Pope by money as they be now) for this purpose only: that is to say, that in such causes of appellation as pertain to the wealth of Christendom, or of any controversy in any nation thereof, that they should, having the authority of the general counsel, according to the law redress such controversies and by equity and right define the same. Whereas, as now, contrary to the institution and first order, the Pope by his proper authority, usurping a certain cloaked tyranny under the pretext of religion, defineth all and dispenseth with all at his own liberty. Wherefore I would wish in no case that we should hang upon such a head so much as we do. I would not yet but we should take him as head of the Christian Church, seeing that authority is given to him by general counsel; but I would we should in our ream give so much to his authority, leaning thereto as to the judgement of God.

Wherefore an ordinance must be had that there be no cause sued

out of the ream except causes of schism in the faith, which pertain to the dissolution of the union of the Catholic and Christian faith. Such causes we should reserve to him as head appointed by common authority; and as for all other controversies, I would they should be defined at home in our own country. For this hath been a great destruction to our ream with the maintaining of this holy power under pretence of religion. This hath been one of the greatest ruins that ever hath come to the ream of England, as I could by many stories, both old and of late days, plainly declare. But this is to no man unknown. I will thereof cease. Wherefore I would that we should in no case meddle with that authority but only in such case as I said before, which tend to open heresy.

And so, for the recognisance of this superiority, I would that our ream should pay these Peter pence, releasing these annates which is ever chargeable to our ream, except of the Archbishops (whom I would should be institute by the Pope but elected at home), and of them have a certain.<sup>1</sup> But all other bishops should be institute by the Archbishops here in our own country, and should not have need to run to Rome for their institution and authority, as they have done many a year, paying therefore the first fruits of their benefices, the which we observed as a great disorder. For by this we maintained the pomp of the Pope, giving to him that which should be distributed among the poor men of the diocese here in our own nation.

### *LUPSET*

Sir, you say well. But, I pray you, tell me one thing that I shall ax of you here. What difference is in this matter to send the first fruits to Rome, and spend it in triumph here at home among whores and harlots and idle lubbers serving to the same purpose in our own nation?

### *POLE*

Difference there is, for yet thus it is spent here at home in our own country.

Howbeit, Master Lupset, here you touch another great faut which we noted also before in our bishops and abbots, which triumph no less than the temporal lords; the which thing, Master Lupset, we must also now in his place temper and amend. And briefly to say, I would

<sup>1</sup> from the Archbishops the Pope should have a certain sum

nothing in this matter but only provision that the order of the common law of the Church might have place: that is to say, that bishops should divide their possessions in four parts, to the use appointed by the authority of the law: the first to build churches and temples ruinate in their dioceses; the second to maintain the poor youth in study; the third to the poor maids and other poverty;<sup>1</sup> and the fourth to find himself<sup>2</sup> and his household with a mean number convenient to his dignity. Other provision than this needeth not at all, saving that I would have them to be resident upon their sees, except such as were necessary about the prince.

And as touching abbots and priors in our country, I would none other but only the order of the monks of Italy: that is to say, that every three year to choose their abbots and priors, and there to give reckoning of their offices commonly, and to live among his brethren, and not to triumph in their chambers as they do, which causeth all the envy in the cloisters and is the occasion of the great spense<sup>3</sup> of the intrate of the monastery; for to his table resorteth the idle company dwelling about him. This manner surely should be a great reformation in the monasteries of England. But, as I have said many times before, the particular mean of this and of other must be devised and put in effect by such as shall have authority to reform the same. It is enough for us now to show in general, and lay common grounds<sup>4</sup> to the finding of the rest.

After this manner, Master Lupset, considering that they which have great possessions will not of their free will liberally spend them according to reason, it were very convenient by order of law to constrain them thereto, for when men privately abuse their own goods to the hurt of\* the common weal and order of the same, it is then meet that the matter should be had in consideration of them which bear rule in common authority. Wherefore the old Romans made a law again prodigality, constraining men to frugality, which is to a common weal the ground of all other virtues. Therefore like ordinance as is determed to bishops would be proportionably upon other inferior dignities of the Church, forasmuch as they are only dispensators<sup>5</sup> of the goods of the Church. Therefore meseemeth this were well: that even like as by order of law the poor men are bounden to pay their tithes to their curate, so likewise they which are parsons and curates should be

<sup>1</sup> poor people

<sup>2</sup> provide for himself

<sup>3</sup> expenditure

<sup>4</sup> establish common principles

<sup>5</sup> stewards

bounden to distribute that which they have superfluous among the poverty of their parish; and so they should also be constrained to be resident upon their benefices, there to preach and teach the Gospel of Christ, and see the distribution of their goods themselves—except it were certain about the prince, and also certain in cathedral churches, which I would not have to be resident with such an idle company as they do now, but to be, as it were, counsellors to the bishop, men of great learning and virtue, helping to set order in all the rest of his diocese, and observing with all diligence that the rest of inferior priests did their office and duty, and to see that none should be admitted but such as in all points were meet for their office, both of learning and wisdom convenient to the same.

For the which I would think very convenient none should be made priests under thirty year of age, which had spend their youth virtuously in letters, and not in hunting nor hawking and such other idle pastimes. The same ordinance also I would should be observed in admitting of all other religious persons, of what order soever they be—none under thirty year of age. For this admitting of frail youth without convenient proof of their virtue and learning is the ground and mother of all disorder in the Church and religion, as you may see, Master Lupset, in every place. Of this fountain springeth all the sklander of the Church by misbehaviour. Wherefore, if this hole were stopped, surely the greatest cause of all fauts in the Church of Christ should be taken away withal; the which remedied should be a great occasion of the remedy of the whole body, forasmuch as they common people look chiefly to the life of prelates and priests, taking their example of the order of their life.

Wherefore, Master Lupset, as we did show a general mean of the bringing up of nobility which should be in the temporalty rulers and heads, so now a little we must touch the bringing up of the youth determed to the spirituality and exercise therein. And, briefly to say, forasmuch as the Latin tongue and the Greek be the ground of learning, in the study whereof they must spend their youth, there must be certain and good schools institute, with prudent masters and well learned to instruct this company. It were nothing amiss to put two or three of these small schools of ten pounds a year togidder and make one good, with an excellent master, and in every town let the priests instruct them and make them somewhat meet to his hands; and then, after they had been brought up in learning awhile, such as he should

judge meet wits (with other learned men appointed to the judgement thereof) should then be send to universities, there to be instruct in the liberal science, and so to be made preachers of the doctrine of Christ.

But here, above all thing, the schoolmaster must study no less to bring up this youth no less in virtue than in learning; for look, how they be customed in youth, so after they follow the trade other of vice or of virtue. Therefore there must be as much regard of the one as of the other, for the learning without virtue is pernicious and pestilent. The same order must be take in universities, that those seeds which are planted by the schoolmaster may bring forth some good and perfit fruit. But this thing in studies<sup>1</sup> and universities is neglected and despised, as it is in grammar schools. Wherefore there must be reformation for that, as in their manner of studies which are confused; and by the reason of that, we have few great learned men in our country. The order of studies in universities must, briefly, be amended, or else all letters and learning will fail. How, and by what mean, I had thought before here for to show; but now, even as it was in the education of the nobility, so it is in this over-long particularly to declare. Each one of these two matters require a whole book, and, beside this, there be wise and learned men which have writ in the same matter, whose counsel I would to God we might fulfil. Among these, of late days, the Bishop of Carpenteras—one of the wisest men of our time—hath put forth a book.<sup>2</sup> It shall be now our duty only to persuade our prince to put this same his counsel in use and effect; the which done, I doubt not but that we should have such priests in our country as are required to this our common weal before devised. And thus, Master Lupset, I think we have showed in general the mean to correct the errors before of us observed and noted, except you remember any other.

### LUPSET

Sir, one thing among other I remember you have not yet spoken of, and that is this: you have not supplied the lack of certain officers which seemed to lack in our country.

### POLE

Master Lupset, you say very truth. Howbeit, in this matter there is no great lack, for if every officer did his duty appointed by the order

<sup>1</sup> seats of learning

<sup>2</sup> Jacopo Sadoletto: *De Liberis Recte Instituendis*, Venice, 1533.

of our country, I think you should shortly agree thereto. And, sir, an officer for that purpose meseem lacketh above all other; for, albeit that it seemeth to pertain to the office of the prince in general, yet to the particular cure thereof I would some man should be appointed in every great city and town, the which should have none other cure nor charge but to see that all other officers diligently did execute their office and duty.

#### LUPSET

You say very well. This office was the thing that chiefly conserved the state of Rome, and was, among the Romans, of high authority. They called them Censors—as you would say, judges of the manners of all other. In like wise with us, as you say, such an office surely should conserve the whole state marvellously. Wherefore I would have them to be called Conservators of the Common Weal. And like as these conservators should have cure of all other officers to the intent that they might with more diligence do their duty, so I would in every city have other also appointed, who should have regard of such thing as pertaineth to the ornaments of the city, and to the health of the same, which as in Rome were called *Ædiles*—as you would say, governors of temples and houses—so with us they should be called Overseers of the City.

Of these two offices we have great lack: one to see to the policy principally, and another to oversee such things as pertain to the health, wealth and ornaments of the cities and towns; under whose authority and jurisdiction all other under-officers should be which have particular cure of certain things pertaining to the same. I would have no officer of city nor town to be exempt from their authority but, as they might, upon lawful proofs of negligence of everyone<sup>1</sup> put them out of their office and dignity; the which thing should cause all under-officers, partly for fear and partly for shame, to regard such thing with cure and diligence as pertaineth to them. And so by this mean our politic body should be kept in order and rule, after the manner which we have before devised.

#### POLE

So that, Master Lupset, now upon this point let us conclude and make an end of our communication, that if we might now find the

<sup>1</sup> (the censors might)



mean to correct these general errors which we have noted (and specially by this good education of the nobility and of clerks, of whom we should after have they heads and rulers), there is no doubt but that we should other have a very true common weal before described, or else, at the least, one that should most near of all other approach thereunto. For by this mean we should have a multitude of people convenient to the place flourishing with all abundance of exterior things required to the bodily wealth of man; the which living togidder in civil life, governed by politic order and rule, should conspire togidder in amity and love, every one glad to help another to his power,<sup>1</sup> to the intent that the whole might attain to that perfection which is determed to the dignity of man's nature by the goodness of God; the which is the end of all laws and order, for the\* which purpose they be writ and ordained. How say you, Master Lupset, think you not thus?

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, this is a certain truth that you say and conclude now at the last, after our long communication: that if we could put in effect such ordinance as you have devised we should have other a true common weal or, at the least, some likelihood thereof, to the which all laws be ordained and devised.

But whether yet all these ordinance, yea, or all the power of law be able to bring man to this perfection, I somewhat doubt, forasmuch as the perfection of man standeth in reason and virtue, by the which he both knoweth that which is truth and good, and also hath will, stable and constant purpose to follow the same, not compelled by fear of any pain or punishment, nor yet by any pleasure or profit allured thereto; but only of his free will and liberty. With prudent knowledge and perfit love moved, he ever applieth his mind to such thing as shall bring him to his perfection. And to this methink no law is sufficient. Wherefore, except we find some other mean whereby man may come to this his perfection, all our communication, methink, is void, and all law without effect.

#### *POLE*

Master Lupset, you enter now into a great matter, the which, if you remember, we touched before. But now here in his place, because

<sup>1</sup> as far as in him lay

you bring it again in remembrance, thereof it shall be no hurt to make a little more mention. Master Lupset, though it be so that the law of itself be not able to bring man to his perfection, nor give him perfit reason and virtue withal, yet forasmuch as it is a mean to bring man thereto it is not utterly to be despised. For, as Sain Paul saith dimly,<sup>1</sup> it is the pedagogue of Christ: that is to say, it prepareth man's mind to the receiving of virtue by profit and pleasure, pain and punishment. it disposeth man something to the way of virtue; yea, and as man is of nature formed rude and without perfit knowledge, it is necessary to have the institution thereof, without the which all civil order would decay, whereof it is the band and sure ground, as we have at large declared before.

And yet this is truth, as you say: it is not sufficient to bring man to his perfection; but to that is required another more celestial remedy, the which our Master Christ came to set and stablish in the hearts of his elect people. He came to make perfit man, and supply the defect of the law by His celestial and divine doctrine. And this is the thing, Master Lupset, that I perceive you require; this is the thing without the which all our communication is void and of little or no effect. Wherefore now remaineth, after that we have showed somewhat how by man's prudence certain fauts and misorders in the civil order (which is the mean to bring man to his perfection, as you see) may be remedied and redressed; now, I say, we must study for the mean to stablish this celestial doctrine which our Master Christ hath left here to conduct all Christian minds to their perfection.

#### *LUPSET*

Sir, this is the thing that I did require in very deed; but to bring this to pass, to stablish this doctrine, it is not the work of man—it is only the work of God. Therefore in this point how we shall behave ourselves I cannot tell.

#### *POLE*

Sir, as touching that, you shall shortly hear my mind therein. First, this is truth: that this thing is the work of God; it is He that must bring this matter to effect, or else all man's labour is spent in vain; notwithstanding, the provision of God hath ordained thus—that man

<sup>1</sup> obscurely

shall have nothing that is good, nothing perfit, without his own labour, diligence and cure—

*Virtutem posuere dii labore parandam.*

This you may see in all things which pertain to the perfection of man; for who is he that can attain (that we may begin of wordly things) other riches or honour, except he with great diligence apply his mind thereto? Who can keep his body in health, except he put diligent cure thereto? Who can attain to any excellency in any manner of art or craft, yea, or come to any high philosophy, except he with much cure, labour and diligence exercise himself in the studies thereof? Undoubtedly, no man. Wherefore much more, without like diligence and labour, there is no way to attain this celestial doctrine, which is not inspired into negligent hearts but only to such as by great study have purged their minds from all wordly affects and so, with perfit faith and sure trust, look for such thing as God hath promised to all them which, all wordly things set apart, desire continually celestial. Therefore be you assured that even as this celestial doctrine far excelleth and passeth all other, so it requireth more diligence, more cure, more ardour, affect and desire of mind than any other. And though it be heavenly and cometh only of God, and may not be by the power of man, yet it is never given to idle and sleeping minds, nor to such as have no cure nor regard thereof, no more than it is to them which by their own natural power think themselves able to obtain and deserve such precious gift. Wherefore, albeit that it is (as you say) to stablish this doctrine in any common weal the only work of God and not of man, yet this is not amiss: to show somewhat the mean how man may dispose himself and make himself meet to receive this heavenly doctrine; wherein we must use other mean than civil ordinance whereof we have spoken of before, the which by fear of pine<sup>1</sup> and desire of pleasure moveth the citizens to follow virtue.

We must now take another way, and, as near as we may, follow the example of our Master Christ, the which by no compulsion institute His law, nor by any dread or fear of anything. Two means I note He used in the stablishing of His law at the first beginning; the which if we follow we may, peradventure, stablish and confirm that which He began, or at the least show the way how it should be done. They ways were these: example of life, and exhortation. By these two

<sup>1</sup> punishment

means His disciples did stablish His doctrine, as it is manifest in the Gospel of Christ and story of the Church. Wherefore, as the restoring of the civil life standeth chiefly in heads and rulers (as we have said before), insomuch that if they be good, all the commonalty will follow the same, so the confirming and stabling of this celestial doctrine standeth chiefly in the officers thereof: that is to say, in the preachers—in the godly living and doctrine of them. We must, therefore, have ordinance made that such only may be admitted to preach whose life and doctrine is many ways proved to be perfit and good. For nowadays the preachers sklander the Word of God, rather than teach it, by their contrary<sup>1</sup> life.

### LUPSET

Sir, you say truth. No doubt, good preachers should help to set this forward wonderfully. But how should we make them? This is the handiwork of God; it is not in man's power. So all cometh to one point: that is, it is not in our power to bring this matter to pass that we now speak of.

### POLE

Master Lupset, we have said before that man alone cannot indeed bring this thing to pass; but man may make ordinance that such only as God hath made meet to preach His doctrine should have authority to exercise the same. This man may do; and not only this, but ordain mean how man shall be brought up in convenient mean meet for the same, as in common studies and universities, and admit none to that office but such as there are proved both in living and doctrine.

But now, to show the mean how men should in that study be brought up, here is not place; and beside that, it is written in our days of the most famous divine, Erasmus, whose counsel I would in our studies we might follow, that all such as should preach the doctrine of Christ should be instruct with such doctrine and manners as he largely showeth in his *Treatise of the Study of Divinity*,<sup>2</sup> and now, a late, in his *Book of the Preacher*.<sup>3</sup> This might by politic rulers in our common weal shortly be brought to pass and put in effect; whereof we must begin.

<sup>1</sup> contrary to the Word

<sup>2</sup> *Exhortatio ad studium evangelicae lectionis*, 1522

<sup>3</sup> *Ecclesiaster, sive de Ratione Concionandi* 1535

The good order of studies in the universities is the fountain and the ground of making these preachers. Wherefore these must be redressed, which be\* now so far out of order that there be few men less meet to preach this celestial doctrine than those be which profess the same, in whom is all arrogancy without meekness (which is the ground of this doctrine); in whom all affects rule and reign without any sparkle of reason, as experience sheweth. But I will not now stand to show their fauts, nor particularly show their instruction and institution, which Erasmus with great eloquence and wisdom doth at large. As I said, we must ordain the mean to put it in execution, which is, briefly to say, only this way: to command the heads in colleges to see the youth brought up after such fashion as he describeth, and other wise men of our time, as the Bishop of Carpentaras and other of that sort. And thus undoubtedly within few years we should see preachers of this doctrine such as should commune it abroad, and induce people with loving manner to follow the same.

Howbeit, as I have showed briefly how by example of life and by good exhortation of the preachers this doctrine must be taught, so upon the part of the people there may be certain ordinance made which may make them meet to hear this preaching and teaching of their masters and doctors. Howbeit, the principal cause lieth in only God. He must form and light their hearts with His grace, or else the preaching can take little effect. But the goodness of God is such that all men, what sort soever they be, which by prayer and humility make themselves apt to receive this light and grace, shall be by and by part-takers<sup>1</sup> thereof. He is not *acceptor personarum*, but, even as the light of the sun shineth in all bright bodies which of their nature be clear and bright, so doth this grace and celestial light communicate itself, by the goodness of God, to all hearts and minds which will with diligence and ardent affect lovingly desire it. But as touching the particular manner also how every man should institute his mind to receive this doctrine, Erasmus also with great wisdom hath declared in his book, which is called the Instruction of a Christian Man.<sup>2</sup> Wherefore, as concerning these particularities, I shall refer you to the same book, the which I think very meet to be put into our mother tongue, to the intent that all such as have letters may be the rather instruct in Christian life and evangelical doctrine.

And as for public ordinance touching this thing, I have this only

<sup>1</sup> partakers

<sup>2</sup> *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* 1503

to say: that forasmuch as this doctrine of Christ is the end and perfitness of all law, and the very life of man's soul, to the intent that it might be the better and with more profit preached I would it were also put into our mother tongue, that by the reading thereof oft-times at home the people might at the least be more able to comprehend the mysteries thereof preached and opened by the preachers of it. For this thing appeareth marvellous strange—people to have the line of their life to be writ in a strange tongue, as thought the law were written to strangers and not to them. The law was written to the intent that all men should know it, and study to apply, to form their lives thereafter. I never read in no stories of greater blindness commonly approved than is this; for it is thought that the putting of our law into our mother tongue should be the destruction of religion—as though the law, if it were known, shall make men to forsake the law, and as though the ignorance of the law should make men to follow the law. Wherefore, seeing that all preaching is ordained to this point—to instruct the people in the law and doctrine of Christ—it must needs follow that all mean must be approved which help to this knowledge. And so, to put the law of the Gospel into our mother tongue were a necessary ordinance.

Moreover it were convenient, after my mind, to make men commonly more apt to receive this light and grace, to ordain all prayers both privately and commonly in churches for the people rehearsed to be made in the vulgar tongue, and all divine service; the which thing should cause doubtless the people both with more effect themselves to pray, and with more diligence hearken the stories of the Bible commonly rehearsed, which are rehearsed only for this cause—that they people hearing them may be the rather stirred to follow the example of the old fathers and holy men whose virtues are celebrate in our temples and churches. For what availeth else this rehearsing of these legends and loud singing thereof now, in a strange tongue as they be rehearsed? It is as you would tell a tale to a deaf man; for difference is none, as touching the profit of the word, betwix a deaf man and him that understandeth nothing at all.

Wherefore, Master Lupset, briefly to conclude this matter, thus I think: that if\* they preachers were in universities well brought up in right studies (which, as we said, are far now out of\* frame, and therefore with all cure and diligence to be reformed), and the Gospel and law of Christ converted well and faithfully into our mother tongue, and all divine service celebrate in the same, then, I think, shortly you

should see more fruit of the Gospel than we have. You should see within few years men with love do such thing as now they cannot be brought to by no man's law; you should see then both reason and virtue in man's life to have place; they should then be the rulers of man's life, all vain affects trodden underfoot. And so, by this mean, man, first induced by fear of punishment and pain and by desire of honest pleasure and profit by law prescribed, should be induced by little and little to this perfection—that he for love only of virtue should follow virtue, and for love of Christ (all pleasure and pain set apart) should follow Christ, and then at the last, thus living in perfit concord and civility, should attain to the everlasting life due to the nature of man, ordained to him by the providence of God, in immortality.

And thus, Master Lupset, now briefly you have heard in these three days' communication what is a common wealth, and wherein it standeth; what lacks thereof and fauts be in our country, and how and by what mean, with good prudence and policy, they might be corrected and amended, as much as may be by man's power redressed, and civil ordinance. For, as we have oft-times before said, the chief point therein lieth in God and in a good prince. Wherefore, Master Lupset, let us thus make an end, because it is late—except you have any in this matter further to say?

### *LUPSET*

Sir, I have nothing to say but only this: seeing that all men, as you said in the beginning of the first day's communication, are bounden as much as they can to funder and set forward this same true common weal which you have spoken of before, in their country, I would that you, which thus prudently perceive the fauts thereof and the mean how they should be reformed, should with all diligence and cure apply your mind to the redressing of the same, seeing that we have now such a prince as is to be desired, which nothing else desireth, day nor night, but to stablish this common weal among his subjects in this our nation. Wherefore, Master. Pole, I would in no case you should let this occasion slip, lest, as I said at the beginning of our communication, men justly should accuse you as ingrate<sup>1</sup> to your own country.

### *POLE*

Well, Master Lupset, as touching this, be you assured for my part

<sup>1</sup> ungrateful

I will never be slack in this behalf, but whensoever it shall please the prince to call me to this purpose, I shall with the same mind be ready to this as to live—for the which I live, and without the which I wot not why I should live. But in this, Master Lupset, I must tarry my time.

*LUPSET*

This tarrying of time, Master Pole, is the destruction of all. You may not tarry till you be called, but put yourself forth, at the least to show the desire that you have to serve your prince and to help your country.

*POLE*

Why, Master Lupset, would you have me now to spot my life with such ambition? Nay, I will not do so, but, as I said, I will tarry my time.

*LUPSET*

Nay, but in this methink you are deceived—to call this affect ambition, which is then only to be imputed when men desire honour to their own pleasure or profit; but when men desire to bear office and to rule to the intent they may stablish and set in their country this common weal which you before have described, it is the highest virtue that is in any noble stomach, and is a certain argument of true nobility; for sluggish minds live in corners and content themselves with private life, whereas very noble hearts ever desire to govern and rule to the common weal of the whole multitude.

*POLE*

Well, Master Lupset, I perceive whither you go. You would have me to show my mind in these other great questions: whether a wise man ought to desire to handle matters of the common weal, or tarry till he be called; and also, what is very true nobility, the which you say so moveth man to set forward all good and just policy—the which thing at another time I will not refuse. But now, because it is late, and pertaineth not greatly to our purpose, I will defer it till more convenient leisure. And the mean time, of this be you assured, in me you shall find no fault nor negligence, but that I shall ever, as occasion moveth me, be ready to do service to my prince and country, to God's honour and glory; to Whose governance and providence, the mean time, we shall commit all, and thus make an end of our communication.





## APPENDIX A

### THE DATE OF THE *DIALOGUE*

STARKEY's *Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset* is undated, as is the copy of the dedicatory letter to Henry VIII which accompanied it. S. J. Herrtage, who edited Starkey's letters for the Early English Text Society, thought it was composed between 1536 and 1538 and presented to the king as late as June 1538.<sup>1</sup> This dating rested chiefly on the strength of a sentence in the dedicatory letter which referred to Pole. He had been asked by the king to state his views on the question of the supremacy of the Church in England, and on Henry's "divorce." After much delay he composed the *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione* as his uncompromising reply. Starkey's letter refers to the request for his opinion, and Pole's reply. The sentence in question is in praise of Pole, "of whose virtue and goodness, if he could have seen that thing by his learning which your most notable clerks in your ream and many other hath approved, your Highness should have had before this certain and sure experience; of the which thing also yet I do not utterly despair, for I trust it shall not be long before he shall declare unto your Grace of his wisdom and judgment plain and manifest argument."<sup>2</sup>

Herrtage took this to mean that Pole's book had already arrived (which it did in the summer of 1536), that it had disappointed the king, and that Starkey was assuring the king that Pole would soon come round to the official point of view.

But it seems clear that the words "should have had before this" mean "have not yet had"; and taken in conjunction with the phrase "of the which thing also yet I do not utterly despair," they imply that the manifest argument is still to come and is being awaited with some impatience. If so, it is clear that the *Dialogue* was presented before June 1536, when Pole's book finally came into Henry's hands.

There is strong internal evidence that the *Dialogue* was written

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Letters of Thomas Starkey*, p. lxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. VIII, No. 217, Record Office.

and presented before Pole had seriously forfeited the king's favour, which he did in the summer of 1536. The tone of both the *Dialogue* and the dedicatory letter suggest that as yet Pole is being considered as a loyal subject. Thomas Lupset is urging Pole to help the king reform the country, and Pole replies:

"Whensoever it shall please the prince to call me to this purpose, I shall with the same mind be ready to this as to live, for the which I live, and without the which I wot not why I should live."<sup>1</sup> At any time after June 1536 this would read most ironically; Henry had called on Pole in 1535 and he had, from Henry's point of view, failed irretrievably. His *Defence* was a violent attack not only on the king's policy and principles, but on his personal character. The king was furious; and no sensible subject could have expected him to stomach a reference to Pole as "your most true and faithful servant"—which is Starkey's description of him in the dedicatory letter. The king's fury was increased when Pole was made a cardinal at the end of the year; and when early in 1537 he was made papal legate to England and sent to the Netherlands in an attempt to subsidise the rebels in the north of England, the council accused him of incredible ingratitude and finally proclaimed him a traitor, with the price of 50,000 crowns on his head. It is said that Henry tried to have him assassinated; certainly Pole's family in England were soon to be punished for Pole's activities. It does not seem likely that he would be offered to the king as a model of wisdom between 1536 and 1538.

A note in Starkey's hand is filed at the Record Office as belonging to the spring of 1533;<sup>2</sup> it mentions what seems to be the plan of the *Dialogue*:

"... show how after long study in divers kind of letters, and after some experience had in strange countries *de moribus και περι πολιτειων* *concepisti hoc institutum scribendi*, observing the rudeness here in our country, and how far it was from true policy."

The *Dialogue* cannot have been completed before 1533, as the tract on education mentioned by Starkey (the *De Liberis Recte Instituendis*) was not seen by Pole till 1532, when he took the author's MS. to Bembo in Venice, and read it on the way; it is probable that Starkey did not see it till it was published in 1533, in Venice.

But it seems likely that the writing of the *Dialogue* was at least begun in 1533. The references in the *Dialogue* to the non-payment

<sup>1</sup> *Dialogue*, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers*, Vol. VI, No. 414.

of annates and Peter's Pence suggest that the matter is still under consideration: Starkey is giving advice, not commenting on a *fait accompli*. The final decision on these two items was taken in 1534.<sup>1</sup> Some of the writing must have been finished before that date. In the letter to the king's Highness,<sup>2</sup> which I take to have been written at a later date, Starkey commented directly on this "act of suppression of certain abbeys,"<sup>3</sup> and proceeded to advise on the administration of the resulting funds. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that had Starkey been writing that portion of the *Dialogue* after 1534 he would have mentioned the Annates Act as directly as he mentioned the 1536 Act of Suppression.<sup>4</sup> This letter, moreover, concluded with an account of Starkey's motives in composing it: he was "moved by the reading of Master Pole's book wherein he [Pole] studieth the abrogation of your acts, and the restitution of the old primacy [of Rome]"<sup>5</sup>—that is, he was provoked by Pole and would not at this time have considered using him as a character typifying any policy to be admired.

So far, the evidence suggests that the *Dialogue* was probably composed between 1533 and 1535, and presented to Henry VIII after Starkey became his chaplain, early in 1535, but before June 1536, when Pole's book arrived. There is one difficulty in the way of accepting this theory: in 1535 Starkey wrote to Cromwell, returning some books he had been lent, and sending Cromwell for criticism an eleven-page treatise entitled: "What is policy after the sentence of Aristotle." This treatise is almost identical with Chapter I of the *Dialogue*—it contains the account of men's progress towards civilisation and their choice of rulers; it compares the parts of the state with the parts of the body, and it stresses the three virtues, health, strength, and beauty. In many places the phrasing is exactly that of the *Dialogue*. It could be either a first draft of the *Dialogue* or an extracted sample, presented for Cromwell's approval as a treatise complete in itself. If it were a sample, Starkey would then—with Cromwell's approval—promise to continue his work; he would merely have to show Cromwell what he had already written, telling him that his patronage was responsible for the continuance of the work. It was obviously to Starkey's advantage to offer it as a separate treatise with promises of

<sup>1</sup> 25 Hen. VIII, c. 20, and 25 Hen. VIII, c. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers*, Henry VIII, 1536-7, pp. 457-504, Record Office.

<sup>3</sup> p. 471.

<sup>4</sup> 27 Hen. VIII, c. 28.

<sup>5</sup> *State Papers*, Henry VIII, 1536-7, p. 499.

expansion; and that, apparently, was the method he adopted in the accompanying letter:

"Thus I have, sir, discussed with myself again the question which it pleased you to propose unto me; the which if it like you I shall be right glad, taking thereby good courage and mind to the device of some other thing hereafter which peradventure shall please you much better, for now to the worthy handling of this matter nor time nor place have suffered me well, though for the avoiding of idleness gladly have exercised myself herein to satisfy your pleasure and commandment."<sup>1</sup>

Compared with the MS. of the *Dialogue*, the MS. of this treatise is free from alteration and second thoughts, which is a further indication that it is a fair copy rather than a first draft. But at whatever period between 1533 and June 1536 the *Dialogue* was composed, it must have been presented to the king before Pole's book reached England. It is clear, then, that Starkey's treatise cannot be referred to as the *Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset*, as he was not made a cardinal until after the book was written.

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. VIII, No. 216, Record Office.

## APPENDIX B

### THE LIFE OF THOMAS STARKEY

THE following account of Starkey's life is not an attempt to make an exhaustive synthesis of every known fact, but to present a less formal idea of him than is available in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. His work as an intermediary between Henry VIII and Reginald Pole in the struggle for the independence of the Church in England should be of interest to readers of the *Dialogue*.

Starkey's family came from Wrenbury in Cheshire. The date of his birth is uncertain; but as he took his B.A. degree at Oxford in June 1516, he was presumably born at some date between 1495 and 1499. A letter to Cromwell asking for preferment, written late in 1534 or early in 1535, reveals that he studied Latin, Greek and philosophy at the university.<sup>1</sup> He was a member of Magdalen College, and took his Master's degree in March 1520.<sup>2</sup>

As the friend of Reginald Pole (who went to Italy in 1520, financed by Henry VIII) Starkey travelled on the Continent, studying and making the acquaintance of various scholars. From 1522 to 1524 he held a Fellowship at Magdalen, and was a lecturer in natural philosophy. Wolsey recommended him to the university as a Proctor in 1522. In 1529 he went to Paris as Pole's secretary. Pole had been sounded by Cromwell as to his views on the king's marriage policy; he disapproved of it, and withdrew to Paris. In 1530 Starkey was appointed to the living of Great Mongeham, near Deal—a benefice held by Thomas Lupset from 1526 until his death in 1530. He was also given the living of Bosham, near Chichester. But in 1531 he was resident mainly in London. Pole had come back to England also for a short time, and had had a difficult interview with Henry VIII in 1530, as he recounted in a letter to Protector Somerset, written in 1549. He failed to persuade the king of the error of his ways, but he did succeed in persuading the king of his sincere love for him, and when he obtained licence to go abroad again, early in 1532, because he felt that he could not be present at Catherine's trial without

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MS. 283, leaf 129.

<sup>2</sup> J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, IV, p. 1414.

speaking in her defence, he went retaining his benefices and the income of 400 ducats which the king had given him.

Meanwhile Starkey had enclosed himself in the Charterhouse and dedicated himself to philosophy. Edmond Harvel, a friend of Pole and Starkey, wrote to him in June 1531, begging him to emerge and let England know "*quam sit humaniter vivendum*," and help to rid the country of barbarous customs.<sup>1</sup> Starkey presumably felt that he was not yet ready to take an active part in government. He wanted to continue his studies, and at some point before July 1533 he rejoined Pole in Italy.<sup>2</sup> A year later, he wrote that Pole was engaged in studying theology, while he himself was reading civil law, for which Padua was the great centre.<sup>3</sup> He gained his doctorate, but the climate of Padua did not suit him; later in that year he returned to England as chaplain to the Countess of Salisbury, Pole's mother. His letter to Cromwell asking for preferment must have met with quick success, as in February 1535 he was writing to Pole as the king's chaplain.

The *Dialogue*, begun not later than 1533, must have been almost finished by then. He told Cromwell of his earnest desire to be of use to his country; the *Dialogue*, though not mentioned in this letter, was intended as part of his service. Having trained his mind and acquired wisdom and information, he was putting it at the disposal of the government:

"Whatsoever it is that I have by the goodness of God attained unto, I shall most gladly, after your judgment and advice, apply it to the service of our prince."<sup>4</sup>

The famous correspondence with Pole began early in 1535, at the command of Henry VIII, who wanted to find out Pole's views on the legality of his assumption of the supremacy of the Church in England, and on his marriages. The text of these letters was reprinted almost in full by J. S. Herrtage; a study of some passages from them gives a picture of Starkey's personality which cannot be had from any other source.

Starkey began by assuring Pole that he would not be serving Henry VIII unless he were sure that Henry was faithful to the true religion:

"I would never have been so without sense or stomach of an honest

<sup>1</sup> Cottonian MS., Nero B. VI, 162.

<sup>2</sup> In July 1533 Sadoletto, writing to Pole, sent compliments to Starkey, who must have been living with Pole by then (Poli, Epp. I, p. 406).

<sup>3</sup> Harleian MS. 6989, f. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Harleian MS. 283, f. 129.

man, as at this time to have sought to enter to his service."<sup>1</sup> Henry desired Pole's true opinions "without colour or cloak of dissimulation" on "the nature of the things as they be in themself"—in other words, he wanted a pronouncement on the principle, not a warning on the consequences.

Pole was in a difficult position. He had received his education and income from the king; he owed him gratitude and allegiance. But gratitude and allegiance could not be allowed to dictate to his conscience an automatically favourable reply. After much delay, he wrote in June that he would "weigh Scripture, laying apart all authority of men." The process would take time, but Starkey was reassured by a letter from Edmond Harvel, still in Padua with Pole, who wrote on June 15 to say:

"Doubt not that he will at length so satisfy the king, that his Grace and all his other friends will take great pleasure and consolation, for his mind is well disposed, without any doubleness."<sup>2</sup>

In October, Pole wrote to Cromwell assuring him of his readiness to serve the king, and his undying gratitude for the liberal education the king had given him. Late in 1535 Starkey again impressed upon Pole that Henry wanted the truth:

"Rather he had you were buried there than you should for any wordly promotion and profit to yourself dissemble with him."<sup>3</sup>

But a letter from John Friar (a member of Pole's household) to Starkey in December 1535 suggested that Pole's outlook on life was changing, possibly as a result of studying the religious issues involved in Henry's problems: he was beginning to despise things merely human and terrestrial, and was exchanging man for God. What seems to have happened is summed up in a note of Starkey's for January 1537, appended to the draft of his "last letter" to Pole.<sup>4</sup> Colleus<sup>5</sup> had apparently told Starkey that when Pole began to write the *Defence* he held the Pope's authority to be man-made, and an article of belief which was not essential to salvation. But he asked for guidance from the Holy Spirit, who showed him the truth.

In May 1536 Pole's *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione* arrived,

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MS. 283, f. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Cottonian MS., Nero B. VII, 93.

<sup>3</sup> Cottonian MS., Cleopatra E. VI, f. 362.

<sup>4</sup> R.O., first draft of the version in Cottonian MS., Cleopatra E. VI, f. 369.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably Henry Cole, who preached the uncharitable sermon when Cranmer was burnt at Oxford. In 1556 he was made Dean of St. Paul's.



with assurances that it was not for publication—presumably because of its fierce personal attack on the character of the king. In it Pole assumed spiritual jurisdiction over Henry, who was to him a heretic in need of severe chastisement for the sake of his soul's salvation. Even kings had to submit to those who kept watch over their souls (Heb. xiii); if Pole had kept silent in such a cause, he would not only have neglected his duty, but would also have been disloyal to his country, and would have risked his eternal salvation. The book was an impassioned appeal to Henry to repent: it was a tribute to Pole's sincerity and zeal, but hardly to his tact or common sense.

Starkey was horrified; he had had little reason to expect this development. He was anxious to dissociate himself from Pole's opinions, and if necessary from Pole too. He wrote what purposed to be his last letter to Pole—"donec resipiscas"—"for his letters to read, who hath so little regard of his master's honour and so little respect of his friends and country as in your writing you plainly declared, I have little pleasure."<sup>1</sup> He warned Pole that he would be considered "an open enemy to your country"; he had failed from the duty of a human being in forsaking country and relatives and so good a prince for so slender a reason, but the failure was due, perhaps, to ignorance, and might be remedied. But Pole was obdurate; dissociated himself from England, accepted the Pope's invitation to Rome, and allowed the Pope to make him a cardinal in December.

Starkey had been helping to promulgate the official view in his *Exhortation to Christian Unity* (1534). He wrote to Cromwell to point out his disapproval of Pole's "sturdy obstinacy";<sup>2</sup> but he was genuinely distressed at the defection of his friend, speaking of "his folly, which hath already more grieved me than ever yet hath done the deed of any man living upon earth."

He wrote again to Pole in January 1537, begging Pole to believe that his advice was based on sincere conviction, not on a hypocritical acquiescence to officialdom; the letter is signed, "Yours yet I trust after the old manner, T's Starkey."<sup>3</sup>

In a lengthy letter to Henry VIII<sup>4</sup> he told the king how grieved he was to see a bad cause so eloquently pleaded by Pole, and to see the

<sup>1</sup> Cottonian MS., Cleopatra E. VI, f. 365.

<sup>2</sup> Cottonian MS., Cleopatra E. VI, f. 370.

<sup>3</sup> Cottonian MS., Cleopatra E. VI, f. 364.

<sup>4</sup> *State Papers*, Henry VIII, 1536-7, pp. 457-504.

king so deceived in a man he had favoured, and to see the country bereft of such a mind as Pole's; "and somewhat also sorrowful I was for mine own private and proper cause, considering the lack which I feared would succeed, with the perpetual loss of the conversation of so faithful a friend, with whom I have been so many years brought up in company and continual study, not without great hope, that as we had spent together our youth in study of letters, so the rest of our lives we should have consumed like manner, in the service of your Grace and of our country." There is a combination of dignity and sincerity in the understatement of that sentence.

Starkey did not allow his disappointment with Pole to lead him into wild accusations of ambition or desire for worldly advantage either in England or Rome. He made allowance for Pole's distress at the news of the execution of the Carthusians,<sup>1</sup> Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, and his reproaches were distinguished by their restraint. The total impression of the correspondence is that Starkey was a sensitive and honest man. His loyalties were not Pole's; but his adherence to them was as strong as Pole's, and as much a matter of conscience. Ultimately he had to sacrifice his friendship to his sense of what was right; but the affection for Pole remained.

Starkey was not assigned any more special missions by Henry VIII, but he cannot have lost the king's favour entirely. In December 1536 he was nominated to the Collegiate Chapel of Corpus Christi, Candlewick Street, London. In March 1537 he was summoned to take part in a conference on various points of belief, including the invocation of the saints, and the doctrine of purgatory. He must have died in August 1538, as on the 1st September 1538 Cromwell presented the next incumbent to the living of Great Mongeham, "*per mortem naturalem Thome. Starkey, S.T.P. vacantem.*"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Starkey had suffered some distress for this himself; as a former friend of Reynolds, he had been sent by the King to plead with him to recant and avoid execution.

<sup>2</sup> Registers, Lambeth Palace Library, f. 365v.



## GLOSSARY

Unusual meanings of words that apparently have their normal modern significance are listed as well as the meanings of obsolete words and by-forms. Words which occur only once in the text are not, in general, listed in the glossary.

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| A, on, of  | COLOUR, cloak, pretence              |
| AFFECT (n.), intention, desire, appetite, state    | COMMODITY, ease                      |
| AFTER, according to                                | COMMON, public, universal            |
| AGAIN (prep.), against                             | COMMONALTY, community, common people |
| ALMAIN, Germany                                    | COMMUNE, talk, communicate           |
| ALS, as  | COMPANABLE, social                   |
| ANCETOR, ancestor                                  | CONCEIT, thoughts                    |
| APPELLATION, appeal from a lower to a higher court | CONCEIVE, understand                 |
| APPROVE, acknowledge                               | CONFER, compare                      |
| APPROVED, tested, tried                            | CONSEQUENTLY, necessarily            |
| ARRIVE (n.), arrival                               | CONSPIRE, unite, combine             |
| APT, fit   | CONTABLE, accountable                |
| ATTENT, attentive                                  | CONTAIN, restrain                    |
| AVAIL, be of use                                   | CONTRARY (adv.), on the contrary     |
| AVANCE, advance                                    | CONVENIENT, suitable, proper         |
| AX, ask  | CORREK, correct                      |
|  | COUNSEL, council                     |
| BEND (adj.), inclined                              | COUNT, account of stewardship        |
| BETWIX, betwixt                                    | COUNTERPAISE, counterpoise           |
| BOLLEN, puffed up                                  | COVERTLY, surreptitiously            |
| BRIEVELY, briefly                                  | CRAFT, skill                         |
| BROKER, legal agent                                | CURE, care                           |
| BY AND BY, immediately                             | CURIOUS, elaborate                   |
|  | CUSTOMABLY, by custom                |
|  | CUSTOMED, accustomed                 |
| CARRY OUT, export                                  |                                      |
| CASE, IN- BE, in the event                         | DEFEAT, frustrate, defraud           |
| CAUSE, fault, blame                                | DETERM, determine                    |
| CHANON, canon                                      | DEVISE, plan                         |
| CIVILITY, good citizenship, civil order            | DISCORD (v.), disagree               |
|  | DISPENSATOR, steward                 |

DISSIMULE, dissemble  
DRESS (v.), direct

EATHER, more easily  
ENHANCED, raised, increased,  
puffed up

ENSEARCH, scrutinise  
ENSUE, aim at, follow  
ENTERTAIN, keep, draw out  
ENTREAT, plead (legal)  
ENTREATY, discussion  
EQUALLY, impartially  
EXEMPT, distinguish, separate  
EXISTIMATION, esteem  
EXTEEM (v.), esteem

FACULTY, trade  
FAIL, WITHOUT, unquestionably  
FAIT, activity  
FANTASIES, whims  
FATCH, fetch  
FAUT, fault  
FINE, fee  
FON, foolish  
FORBECAUSE, because  
FORCE (v.), matter  
FORTH, forward, on  
FRAME, order, organisation  
FRERE, friar  
FRIENDSHIP, friendship  
FURDER (v.), further

GADDER, gather  
GENDER, engender  
GROUND, fundamental principle  
GROUNDLY, firmly  
GRUDGE, unease  
GUARD, guardianship

HANG IN SUIT, pend  
HANG OF, depend on  
HARDUOUS, arduous  
HEADY, headstrong  
HERABLE, arable

IMBECILITY, frailty  
IMMEDIATELY, directly  
INCONTINENT, lacking in self-  
restraint  
INDIFFERENT, impartial  
INDUCE, bring on  
INERT (v.), nullify  
INGRATE, ungrateful  
INHABITAN, inhabitant  
INSTINCT (adj.), innate  
INSTITUTION, education  
INSTRUCT (adj.), furnished  
INTEND TO, apply self to  
INTRATE, income

JOIN, enjoin

LAY, establish, allege  
LEAN TO, tend towards  
LET, hinder  
LEWD, ignorant  
LIGHTLY, only a little; easily  
LIKE, likely  
LONG (v.), belong  
LUBBER, lout

MAGNIFICAL, splendid  
MARCHAND, merchant  
MEAN (adj.), moderate  
MEDDLE, concern oneself  
MIDS, middle, midst

MINISH, diminish  
MINISTER (v.), furnish; administer  
MINISTER (n.), administrator  
MO, more  
MODERATE, control  
MOVED, motivated; mooted  
MYSTERY, trade

NOTHER, neither  
NOTHING, in no way  
NOYFUL, harmful

OCCASION, cause, opportunity  
OF, (frequently) by  
OLD (n.), plain  
OOD, mad  
OPEN, expound  
OBTAIN, obtain  
ORNATE, adorn  
OTHER, either  
OVERMORE, in addition  
OVERSIGHT, overseeing

PAIN, fine  
PAISIBLE, peaceable  
PART-TAKER, partaker  
PASS, surpass  
PAST-TIMES, pastimes  
PERAVENTURE, peradventure  
PERCASE, perchance  
PERCEIVANCE, perception  
PERFIT, perfect  
PILL (v.) plunder  
PINE (n.), punishment  
PLAIN, obvious, open  
POLICY, statecraft, civil order  
POLITIC, political, prudent  
POLITY, civil order

POLLING, despoiling  
POPULAR, common  
POWER, TO HIS, as far as he is able  
PRETERMIT, neglect, omit  
PROCESS, course  
PROPER, own  
PROSECUTE, follow up in detail  
PROVE (n.), proof  
PROVOKE, induce

REAM, realm  
REDOUND TO, overflow into  
REDRESS, direct, put in order  
REFRAIN, restrain  
REGARD, consideration  
REMAIN IN, rest on  
REPUGN, oppose  
REPUGNANCE, conflict  
RESPECT, WITHOUT, indiscriminately  
RIGHTWISE, righteous  
RISE OF, result from  
RUDELY, barbarously  
RUDENESS, barbarous state  
RUINATE, ruined

SAINTUARY, sanctuary  
SAVE (adj.), safe  
SCACENESS, scarcity  
SEARCH, seek  
SEMBLABLY, in a similar way  
SENTENCE, opinion  
SET FORTH, promote  
SHOULD (frequently), would  
SILDON, seldom  
SIN, since  
SINCERE, pure, unmixed  
SINGULAR, individual  
SINGULARITY, distinction  
SITHEN, since

SKLANDER, slander  
SKLENDER, slender  
SOLLEN, swollen  
SOUN (v.), proclaim, smack of  
SPARKLE, sprinkle  
SPARKLED IN, involved in  
SPOIL, despoil  
STAPLE, commercial centre  
SPIRITUALTY, those in Holy

Orders

SPRITE, inspiration  
STABLE, institute, establish  
STAND IN, consist in  
STAND WITH, be consistent with  
STATE, class  
STERN, steering  
STINT, limit  
STOMACH, spirit  
SUNDERLY, separately  
SUPPLY, reinforce  
SURELY, firmly  
SUSTENTATION, sustenance

TEMPORALLY, by temporal  
authority

TEMPORALTY, laity

TEMPT, attempt, make trial of

THEY, these, this  
THOUGHT (conj.), though  
THRID, third  
TOGIDDER, together  
TRADE, cause, manner  
TRANSLATE, transport  
TYRAN, tyrant

UNLUSTY, slothful  
UP SO DOWN, upside down

VADE, fade  
VENGE, avenge  
VOID (v.), avoid  
VOID (adj.), leisure

WARD, protection  
WEALTH, well-being  
WEDDER, weather  
WIT, intelligence  
WORDLY, worldly  
WORN (v.), waste

YEAR, ear

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